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East Europe Report

POLITICAL, SOCIOLOGICAL AND MILITARY AFFAIRS

No. 1987

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CONTENTS

INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS

Briefs

Ceausescu Greeted on Birthday 1
Dragosavac Greets Ceausescu on Birthday 1

CZECHOSLOVAKIA

CPSL Daily Defines Freedom of Religion in CSSR
(ROLNICKE NOVINY, 28 Jan 82)..... 2

Briefs

Chilean Trade Unionists' Visit 5

GERMAN DEMOCRATIC REPUBLIC

Individual Combat Soldier's Value Not Undercut by Technology
(Ernst Gebauer; AR ARMEE-RUNDSCHAU, Dec 81)..... 6

CDU-Protestant Church Discussions Published
(DEUTSCHLAND ARCHIV, Jan 82)..... 10

POLAND

Contribution to International Development Strategy Reviewed
(Janusz Skodlarski; SPRAWY MIEDZYNARODOWE, Jun 81)..... 13

Institutions Shaping Foreign Policy Noted
(Hab Longin Pastusiak; SPRAWY MIEDZYNARODOWE, Jun 81)..... 32

Recruitment for Military Academies, Officers' Schools Announced
(ZOLNIERZ WOLNOSCI, 25 Jan 82)..... 48

Education and Upbringing Military Commissioner Interviewed
(Zygmunt Huszcza Interview; ZOLNIERZ POLSKI, 10 Jan 82)..... 51

ROMANIA

Minister Discusses Health Care, Medical Research Priorities
(Eugen Proca; ERA SOCIALISTA, 20 Dec 81)..... 56

Present-Day Evolution of Social Structure
(Stana Buzatu; ERA SOCIALISTA, 20 Dec 81)..... 64

Importance of Preventing Fires in Industrial Units Stressed
(PAZA CONTRA INCENDIILOR, Dec 81)..... 70

Causes of Explosions, Fires in Petrochemical Units Analyzed
(Ion Stanciu; PAZA CONTRA INCENDIILOR, Dec 81)..... 73

Decree on Execution of Census of Domestic Animals
(ROMANIA LIBERA, 7 Jan 82)..... 77

Consumer Cooperatives Congress
(Editorial Report)..... 84

Artisan Cooperatives Congress
(Editorial Report)..... 85

Briefs
Press on Price Correlation 86
Ceausescu Greeted on Birthday 86
Elena Ceausescu's 86
Interior Ministry Session 87
Credentials Presentes 87
'Arafat Thanks Ceausescu for Cable 87

YUGOSLAVIA

Problems in Checking Quality of Drugs in Nationwide Defense
(Radomir Popovic, Aleksandar Hranilovic; ARHIV ZA FARMACIJU, No 5-6, 1981)..... 89

Western Comment on Proposed Federal Appointments
(FRANKFURTER ALLGEMEINE, 25 Jan 82)..... 94

Election of Clergy to Sawp Bodies Discussed
(Nenad Ivankovic; VJESNIK, 13 Feb 82)..... 96

Chauvinist Incidents in Kosovo Detailed
(ILUSTROVANA POLITIKA, 8, 22 Dec 81)..... 100

Eviction of Pristina Invalid, by Slobodan Reljic
Shooting in Pec, by Milos Misovic

BRIEFS

CEAUSESCU GREETED ON BIRTHDAY--To Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu, president of the Socialist Republic of Romania: Esteemed Comrade Ceauses cu, on your birthday I want to convey, on behalf of SFRY presidium and myslef, cordial congratulations and wishes for good health and new successes in your highly responsible work to the benefit and prosperity of the friendly Romanian people from neighboring Romania. [Signed] Sergej Kraigher, president of the SFRY presidium. [Text] [AU011034 Bucharest SCINTEIA in Romanian 27 Jan 82 p 5]

DRAGOSAVAC GREETS CEAUSESCU ON BIRTHDAY--To Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu, RCP secretary general and president of the Sociality Republic of Romania: Esteemed Comrade Ceausescu, on your birthday I want to convey most cordial congratulations and best wishes for good health and new successes in your highly responsible work. I want to take this opportunity to express my satisfaction at the development of relations of friendship and cooperation between the LCY and the RCP and between our two neighboring socialist countries. I greatly appreciate the contribution you personally have made and are making to developing Yugoslav-Romanian cooperation. We are convinced that the further development of our cooperation is in the lasting interests of the Yugoslav peoples and the Romanian people and of international cooperation on the basis of equality, peace and socialism in the world. [Signed] Dr Dusan Dragosavac, chairman of the LCY Central Committee presidium. [Text] [AU011033 Bucharest SCINTEIA in Romanian 27 Jan 82 p 5]

CSO: 2700/192

CPSL DAILY DEFINES FREEDOM OF RELIGION IN CSSR

Bratislava ROLNICKE NOVINY in Slovak 28 Jan 82 p 4

[Article by SU]

[Text] The socialist state is a state of all the people, regardless of their religion. Both believers and atheists are engaged in building a developed socialist society. There are no differences in the rights of individual citizens because of their religion.

Equality of churches and religious freedom are also proclaimed in many capitalist countries. However, in practice freedom of religion is understood there only as freedom to choose and to practice a religious cult. The constitutions of all socialist countries guarantee their citizens full freedom to believe in any religion or not to believe, i.e., to be an atheist. The constitutions of the socialist countries strictly prohibit any discrimination against citizens as far as their rights concerning religious beliefs are concerned. In these countries nobody classifies citizens according to their religion.

The socialist state, as already noted, guarantees religious freedom to all its citizens. According to the Czechoslovak constitution of 11 July 1960, Chapter 2, Article 32, "Freedom of religion is guaranteed. Everyone can practice any religion or be without religion, or exercise religious functions insofar they do not conflict with the law." The state does not interfere in the internal affairs of the churches, in religious instruction, liturgy and other such matters.

Funding of Churches

There are in Czechoslovakia 18 organized churches and religious societies which have their own organizations and rules. To pursue their activities, they have 10 publishing houses. In all, 27 religious periodicals are being published. In accordance with Government Directive No 112/1950 of the Collection of Laws and No 123/1950 of the Collection of Laws, theologians have been trained at six divinity schools since 1950. The state financially assists in the operation of church facilities. In addition, it allocates money for the habilitation and renovation of church buildings. The state also recognizes as paid holidays 3 days each year related to religious traditions.

Everybody who is familiar with the principles of our policies regarding religious must admit that this policy makes it possible for orderly relations with churches and believers. The basic principles of this policy is full respect for the right of citizens to have religious beliefs as well as our right to ideologically influence those who approach problems of life from religious positions.

Freedom of religion does not mean neutrality by the socialist state nor indifference to the existence of religion. This is the result of the fact that no society, non-socialist or socialist is ideologically neutral. The socialist state legally expresses ideology, i.e., a scientific world of view. The CSSR constitution in Article 16 states: "All cultural policy in the CSSR, education, training and teaching are conducted in the spirit of the scientific world view, i.e., Marxism-Leninism, and in close relationship with the life and work of the people."

Decisive Results of Work

As far as its relation with the state is concerned, religion is the private business of citizens. At the same time, the state cannot remain indifferent about citizens' convictions. Nobody in our country can be persecuted or prosecuted for his religious beliefs. The state does not require from anybody a written or oral declaration concerning his religious belief. Our citizens are not judged on the basis of their religion but on the basis of their work for our society, on the basis of their attitudes toward the tasks of building a socialist society. At the same time, the state encourages in all spheres a revolutionary transformation of our society, starting with economic relations and ending with thinking and acting by each and every citizen in the spirit of scientific world opinion. Among the tasks performed by the state is also forming the people's consciousness, a systematic struggle against all forces, customs and traditions of an outdated exploiting society.

Thus when we talk about our citizen, i.e., an individual whose rights and duties are regulated in statutes which spell out mutual relations between this citizen and the state, it is obvious that every citizen has a guaranteed right to any religion. In this sense, then, religion is a private affair of the citizen. However, if we change the premise, if we take into consideration not a citizen perse but someone who is an integral part of the socialist society and who needs to be freed from the shackles placed on him by a previous society, then our approach as far as the relation of man to religion changes.

Religion Is not Private Affair of Communists

The fact that the workers parties accepted the idea of insisting on freedom of conscience leads some people to believe that this slogan is universally valid always and under all circumstances. They do not differentiate between the relation of the state and the relation of the revolutionary workers party toward religion. They think that the party member's world view, and thus his possible religious belief, is only his "private" affair. V.I. Lenin dealt with this problem in the following words: "Our party is an association of conscious progressive fighters for the liberation of the working class. Such an organization cannot and must not be indifferent to ignorance, obscurantism or reaction in the form of religion." Religion for us is not the private affair of a party member. It is an affair for the entire party, its organs and organizations, which check on the world view of members.

Nor is religion a private affair for those workers who have educational jobs in our country. This applies to a large group of teachers, educators and cultural workers. They are obligated by Article 16 of the constitution which says: "The entire cultural policy in Czechoslovakia, the development of education, training and teaching are conducted in the spirit of the scientific world view, i.e., Marxism-Leninism, and in close relationship with the life and work of the people."

A similiar demand is put on leading workers. According to the resolution concerning cadre and personnel work, approved by the Presidium of the CPCZ Central Committee on 6 November 1970, and according to the subsequent directives given to various state organs, only fully qualified workers can be appointed to leading positions. Qualification here is understood as a sum of technical knowledge, moral qualities, political maturity and class consciousness. Political maturity and class consciousness are directly related to the scientific world view, i.e., to the materialistic and thus also atheistic understanding of all social phenomena and processes as well as active everyday atheistic work.

Struggle against Prejudices

The policy of the Communist Party and the socialist state toward religion is consistent and well-considered. "As far as our relation toward religion is concerned, our attitude is well known. The socialist state respects the religious feelings of believers and appreciates that the overwhelming majority of them are sincerely participating in our constructive efforts. However, this does not mean that we should relax our obligation to carry on the dissemination of our scientific world view." These words, expressed from the podium at the 16th CPCZ Congress, clearly indicate one of our main tasks, namely, a struggle against the religious world view and other forms of bourgeois ideology and our struggle on behalf of the scientific world view. The Communist Party never had and never will have as its goal prohibition of religion. However, it will fight it politically.

A state expressing the will of the working class and other working people safeguards the civil rights of believers. At the same time, it also secures the fulfillment of civic duties and maintainance of the social order. We do not permit activity of religious organizations which is hostile to the socialist system or is of a fanatical nature. This is done in the interest of the entire society, including believers.

Under socialism, there have been created political and legal conditions for freedom of opinion which openly denies belief in the supernatural and which, in its fight with religious prejudices, asserts the only real scientific, materialistic world view, while it simultaneously permits all possibilities to belong to any of the 18 churches and religious societies in our country.

1277
CSO: 2400/126

BRIEFS

CHILEAN TRADE UNIONISTS' VISIT--Secretary of the Central Council of Trade Unions (URO) V. Kozik received a delegation from the Chilean Central Workers's Union (CUT) led by CUT representative in Czechoslovakia Raul Caro. The delegates presented the URO with an honorary diploma for long-term solidarity and support of the heroic Chilean people by Czechoslovak workers. Kozik assured the Chilean trade unionists that Czechoslovak workers are "determined to contribute with all their abilities to the final victory of the just cause of the Chilean people." /Prague PRACE in Czech 25 Feb 82 p 3/

CSO: 2400/158

INDIVIDUAL COMBAT SOLDIER'S VALUE NOT UNDERCUT BY TECHNOLOGY

East Berlin AR ARMEE-RUNDSCHAU in German No 12, Dec 81 (signed to press 1 Oct 81) pp 36-41

[Article by Lt Col Ernst Gebauer: "What Is the Man in the Field Still Worth?"]

> [Text] Is man in combat pushed into the margin of events by modern technology? In view of such weapons systems as combat helicopters, tanks, tube and rocket artillery, while the motorized rifleman is sometimes dug in up to his neck, shouldn't one ask in the words of the song from Schiller's "Wallenstein": "What is the man in the field still worth?"

Is it enough to point out that each of these and other weapon systems will have to be programmed, guided and operated by men?

Hardly, since we were asking about the value of the individual man.

Recently, the Soviet Army newspaper KRASNAYA ZVEZDA [RED STAR] published the thoughts of the deputy defense minister of the USSR, Marshall Moskalenko. Formerly, if someone did not understand how to handle the sabre or rifle, wrote the marshall, then this was not decisive for the outcome of the battle. Others filled the gaps. But look at modern rocket systems: They are operated by groups of soldiers, whereby each is responsible for a part of the whole. If only one person fails, the combat mission cannot be performed. Sabre and rocket--the marshall concludes that military superiority in our days is essentially the superiority of a combat collective composed of the coordinated actions of many people. Thus, the role of the individual in combat increases.

Well and good, one might say. This seems pertinent for rockets. But what is the situation for the motorized infantryman? Aren't they closer to the sabre? Couldn't a daredevil or bold fellow do the fighting for two or three men?

For Lt Col Schneeberg, commander of the "Thomas Müntzer" motorized infantry regiment, "sometimes, anything is possible". Then, he continues: "But military developments are changing the combat operations of the motorized infantry. For example, the number of tanks and armored vehicles has increased enormously--even in the NATO armed forces where they understand how to fully utilize their protective properties. The motorized infantry have to adjust to this. Consequently, it is expected that the motorized infantry squads will, as a rule,

encounter enemy fire-nests, containing automatic weapons and cannon-equipped tanks and APCs. And a squad of armored infantry with their vehicle usually forms such a fire-nest which likewise cannot be held down with infantry weapons alone. Then the gunner in the turret of the APC must open fire at great range. Then the submachine-gunner and light machine-gunner have to fight the armored infantry covered by the approaching vehicle. The tank-busting gunner has to hit the enemy tank or APC with the first shot, if possible. When storming the enemy object by a part of the infantry, fire has to be continued while the others throw hand grenades. And, finally, the armored close-combat unit has to be given appropriate fire support until final destruction of the tank. And furthermore: Where is it a rule that the motorized infantry squad will face only one armored target? There can be several of them. On the battlefield, there are no specified guidelines as on the paradeground, which the tanks and other vehicles have to follow. In the terrain, each one seeks the best route for his intentions and the most advantageous position."

Let us discuss the lieutenant colonel's statements. Reinforced armored infantry battalions of the West German Army attack with 77 tanks and armored vehicles, conduct delaying action with 64 and use 39 of them in defense. In addition, other weapons are used, like guided AT rockets, howitzers and antiaircraft on SP carriages, bazookas and tank-busters and--especially in attack--combat helicopters. Thus, in defending against an attack, a motorized infantry squad may face two armored targets, one guided AT rocket system, several bazookas and one machinegun.

Junior officer Korber demonstrated such a situation with his squad for ARMEE RUNDSCHAU (AR). His suggested attack outline, shown in the photo on page 38, illustrates his combat deployment. There is no one left to help elsewhere. The result: If one soldier fails, even for a moment, or if only one weapon is destroyed, then both the execution of combat tasks and even the existence of the squad is placed in question. Let us not forget: The enemy tank can fire its 105 mm cannon and turret MG at the squad until the tank-busting gunner hits and destroys it. Our own APC is only safe when the MG gunner has neutralized the enemy-guided AT rocket crew. Other combinations are possible, but we will leave off with these two.

Naturally the growing role of the individual in combat is based on the continuing modernization in the armament of our armed forces. Work in this area of our socialist society is not performed for someone's profit, but rather because this is a regional necessity for preserving the peace and to secure a reliable, military protection of our socialist achievements at any time. And thus, the motorized infantry of the National People's Army have modern military equipment adapted to its organization and tactics. A motorized infantry squad is composed of specialists who are equal in their type of specialization to the imperialist enemy. Thus, a submachine gunner is able to operate the light machinegun (LMG), but a first-shot hit by the tank buster or a hit from the first burst of the turret armament, or throwing the AT hand grenade accurately onto the enemy tank, requires specially trained fighters. The tactical-technical differences are too great for anyone to be an all-round fighter. But the sabre, which was discussed initially, makes everyone more or less equal.

It remains to be asked: Is an insight into the tempo and scope of continuing modernization and qualitative refinement of armaments and tactics sufficient to enable every soldier to act synchronously and in coordination in combat? Views of this type expand one's grasp of the whole. A combat training tuned toward modern combat will provide the individual with certain experiences which will cause appropriate actions in case of war. But at the same time, we know that real combat will not be a planned sequence where everyone has a learned role to perform, without encountering resistance. And one cannot be taught to think and act in the interest of the group when one's own life is in danger.

The prerequisites for all this must be experienced. This was stressed in a report to the 12th SED delegate's conference of the National People's Army: "The soldier takes action in full consciousness of his responsibility for the combat effectiveness and combat readiness if he has the trust of his class comrades and if he is viewed as a fellow fighter."

After a tactical exercise, five young party members from the "Thomas Müntzer" unit confirmed this from their own experiences.

Corporal Lehmann, squad leader: "We participated in a tactical air landing. Some comrades were unrecognizable to me because they suppressed their little weaknesses. It wasn't the unusual flight in the helicopter, but the direct experience of being entrusted with an extremely important mission for the regiment--namely, to form a bridgehead and thus to help other units cross the river."

NCO Braun, platoon leader: "Everything does not always go right. Our company has not been the best for a while. Then, we had to prepare for a combat fire exercise. Would we mess that up too? Where was the force which would pull us upward? Then our company commander did the only correct thing: He spoke confidentially with the soldiers about our problems. In the combat firing, we received a grade 1. The feeling of success and usefullness of each individual was uplifting and is continuing in every task we undertake."

Private Viertel, submachine gunner: "Jointly achieved success always stimulates collective action. When we were underway between the deployment area and the line of attack, a bolt in the transmission of our APC sheared off. The driver couldn't shift and we stopped. Immediately, some soldiers took off the base plate, others loosened the 50 screws. Somebody went looking for the spare bolt. The driver only had to hold out his hand to get what he needed. Thus, our APC was repaired in a short time. We succeeded in getting into the battle order of the company when they reached the line of attack. And even though the attack began right away, we already felt like victors. Can you imagine how that encouraged us!"

NCO Haeger, squad leader: "I would like to say that we instructors repeatedly have to point out that the enemy will come at us with the same fury. And he won't let anyone hide behind the man in front."

Finally, all were of the opinion expressed by Private Rokcach, an AA missile gunner: "What brings us together? Our common efforts to make the peace more secure through high levels of military performance. The help we give each other.

That no one is left in the lurch if he can't quite get something. Military service is not easy and simple for any of us. Where does anyone undergo such physical rigors as here? Who would have wanted to be so restricted? Finally, almost everyone has a girl, many even have families. From my childhood, I was an athlete. So I organized the members of my group and train with them. I help them so they will be successful in training. They respect me for it. And they also listen to me, follow my advice which I, as a party member, seek to give in the interest of us all. For some though, there is so much personal life, even mundane things, in the daily soldier's life, that they do not take it so well...."

Common understanding and comradly aid in combat training: they serve for developing conscious co-responsibility in the individual which is indespensible in mastering complex combat situations in war.

What is the man in the field still worth?

We posed this question on the basis of the massive supply of modern weapon systems on the battlefield. The answer is sought in the smallest tactical unit of the motorized infantry, the squad, where changes in armament are often not so prominent; finally, the motorized infantry still fight on foot. A situation like that demonstrated by NCO Korber need not occur, but must always be expected. And not only then will the NCO need each of his men: As knowledgeable fighters, as specialists, as soliders feeling responsible for a "part of the whole."

9280
CSO: 2300/130

CDU-PROTESTANT CHURCH DISCUSSIONS PUBLISHED

Cologne DEUTSCHLAND ARCHIV in German Vol 15 No 1, Jan 82 pp 87-88

[Christian Charity Service and Political Action As Exemplified by Aid to the Disabled in the GDR"--Review by Prof Dr Klemens Richter, chief counselor, Catholic Theology Faculty, Muenster University; of "Tradition und Verpflichtung. Dienst am Naechsten --humanistische Tradition und schoepferische Verwirklichung in der sozialistischen Gesellschaft" (Tradition and Duty. Serving Your Fellowman--Humanist Tradition and Creative Work in Socialist Society), a collection of the discussions at the 20 Feb 81 CDU-Protestant Church Symposium, published by the executive committee secretariat of the Christian Democratic Union of Germany, 1981, 77 pp, 1.00 mark]

[Text] On the occasion of the 98th birthday of Otto Nuschke, from 1948 until 1957 chairman of the CDU in the Soviet Zone of Occupation and the GDR, as well as deputy minister president and director of the office for ecclesiastical affairs from 1949 until his death in 1957, the presidium of the executive council of the CDU met with dignitaries of the Protestant church and university theologians on 20 February 1982 to "discuss in the light of historical experience the present and future responsibilities of Christian citizens in our country"--as stated by Gerald Goetting, CDU chairman and deputy to the chairman of the council of state and to the president of People's Chamber. The conference sought to summarize "what substantively has long been the midpoint of our efforts: responsible service to mankind, and in so doing to take up the rich humanistic tradition of Christian efforts for the welfare of mankind and bringing it creatively to realization in cooperation for the development and expansion of socialism."

The focus was to have been work in the area of health as well as efforts on behalf of the aged and the handicapped. Nonetheless, not a great deal new was to be learned from the papers and discussions of this conference (1). It is amazing to read again and again how leading CDU functionaries in the GDR try to bring the Gospel, Christian tradition and socialist society into harmony with each other. This time Goetting sought to enlist Saint Elizabeth of Thuringia, whose 750th anniversary will be celebrated in November, Martin Luther, Mother Theresa and Albert Schweitzer--a nice balance of Catholic and Protestant images--to bind together both churches with the theme of the conference. Goetting was full of praise for the efforts undertaken on behalf of the handicapped in the GDR, stressing particularly the work of the Catholic Caritas organization as well as the Protestant Deaconate. The director of Diaconical Organization of the Domestic Mission and the Protestant Relief Organization in the GDR, Senior Church Councilor Ernst Petzold, was the only one to pour any water in the wine of praise expressed by the other speakers. He gave recognition to what had been

accomplished by ecclesiastical organizations, but also stated, "We have no reason to close our eyes to problems which have not yet been resolved ...Let us do something in the sign of hope, to which our Christian faith will give us strength."

It is really a remarkable process that can be inferred from the conference papers --the representatives of the state and the party trying to paint an attractive picture of state and church in harmony. The representatives of the church--the Catholic church was not represented--and the theological faculties trying, without disavowing this official line too strongly, to bring its concerns into play and to make distinctions. Nuschke's successor in the office of secretary of state for ecclesiastical affairs, Klaus Gysi, though thanking the CDU members "who, in the state and church institutions for health and social service, are serving the handicapped and the disabled" produced a masterpiece of official policy with respect to the churches in his speech. He thanked primarily those "who are active in in clerical positions, in the management of church affairs, in synods and parish councils and who are thereby giving witness to and living out by their example the freedom and normality of Christian life in our socialist society." Yet what occupied him most particularly was the formula of "the Church, not against and not parallel to, but within socialism." In doing so he referred to the conference of 6 March 1978 between the leaders of the Protestant church and Erich Honecker, at which it became clear "that we have accommodated ourselves to a long period of cooperation between Christians and socialists and to a long period of constructive coexistence of both state and church . . . Our ecclesiatical policy is not something to be worked out from day to day, it points far into the future, it is conceived for the period of history which lies before us."

The individual conference reports evidence a number of interesting aspects which cannot be dealt with fully here, such as a new Saint Elizabeth image elaborated by church council or Herbert von Hintzenstern which could have positive results in ecumenical efforts. Lothar Nitter of the church of Saint John reported on "Work with the Disabled--Responsibility and Opportunity for the Churches." Pastor Werner Lucas outlined how, apart from organized society, the lack of understanding of the handicapped consists of helplessness. Guenter Wirth, editor-in-chief of the Protestant monthly journal STANDPUNKT and member of the CDU presidium, sought, at the end of the conference, to link the churches' contributions to the line of the state. Thus "the Diaconate, service to mankind, would have to be viewed from the perspective of the political diaconate," as "the uniting of purposeful social commitment and altruistic individual service." There was also the hint of gentle criticism, that state institutions looked favorably upon the diaconical services of the churches in the areas of health care and social service and recognized it as such while allowing Christians little scope beyond that. Wirth remarked on this point, "I believe that this is really jumping to conclusions, because the recognition of the diaconical work of Christians--and this is the recognition of Christian action in general--in such respect for concrete service is, in the end, to be found the respect for the substance of our witness."

The reports submitted to this conference are a good example of the significance of the CDU in the GDR. They have been successful in initiating discourse between the representatives of the state and the party and ecclesiastical institutions on such themes as this, which otherwise would hardly come to the attention of the public, ot to speak of being discussed with the churches themselves. This refers almost without exception to the Protestant churches alone. The Catholic church has from the very beginning stuck with its avowed position: why talk to the CDU when, in the end it is the SED that lays down the rules.

(1) A more systematic and thoroughly documented treatment is that by G. Helwig, "Am Rande der Gesellschaft. Alte und Behinderte in beiden deutschen Staaten" [On the Fringes of Society. The Aged and the Handicapped in Both German States], Cologne 1980. See also M. E. Ruban, "Gesundheitswesen in der DDR" [Health Care in the GDR], Berlin 1981.

9878
CSO: 2300/144

CONTRIBUTION TO INTERNATIONAL DEVELOPMENT STRATEGY REVIEWED

Warsaw SPRAWY MIEDZYNARODOWE in Polish No 6, Jun 81 pp 117-133

[Article by Janusz Skodlarski: "Poland's Contribution to International Development Strategy: International Strategy for the Second Decade of Development"]

[Text] From the standpoint of the developing countries, properly speaking, the First Decade of Development (1961-1970) ended in a fiasco. During that period no changes were made in the structure of international economic relations, and their principles and mechanisms have not been altered either. The premises of the international development strategy for the Second Decade of Development (1971-1980) were more concrete and basically they comprised all the fields of activity of the UN system, while at the same time linking them to political conditions (international security, complete decolonization). The international development strategy for the Second Decade represented the first such broad-scale attempt at a comprehensive integration of the program of the UN system in the field of global economic relations.[1]

The adopted strategy presupposed, among other things, that in developing countries the mean annual gross increase in national income would be 6 percent; in industrial output, 8 percent; in agricultural output, 4 percent; in imports, at least 7 percent and in exports, more than 7 percent. The international development strategy included recommendations for international action in such fields as: international trade, economic cooperation and regional integration of the developing countries, the financing of their development with 1 percent of the gross national income of the industrialized countries), science and technology, human resources, development of production, planning in the developing countries. Compared with the First Decade a new and noteworthy element in the program was the emphasis on the need for structural and institutional reforms and the necessity of a more uniform division of national income in the underdeveloped countries. The program for the Second Decade of Development also stressed the simultaneous development of agriculture and industry as complementary and interacting fields of economy. By the same token, proper conclusions have been drawn from the underestimation of these fields in the program for the First Decade. In addition, special attention was paid to assistance relating to the formation of the socioeconomic infrastructure, the training of technical personnel, the role of science and technology in accelerating economic development and the implementation of appropriate measures to mobilize and properly exploit native resources. The developing countries pledged to increase by 1980 the funds they themselves allot for their own economic development to a level reaching 20 percent of their gross national incomes.[2]

The socialist countries withdrew from the Preparatory Committee working on the premises for the Second Decade of Development. The principal cause of the resignation of the socialist countries from participation in preparatory work was the informal inclusion of the FRG in the Preparatory Committee at a time (1968) when that country was not a member of the United Nations. In justifying Poland's withdrawal from the Preparatory Committee, the Polish representative also named another reason: he declare that in 1968 at 23rd Session of the UN General Assembly, the Polish delegation made "every possible effort" to revise certain guidelines for drafting more effective (internal and external) means of accelerating the socioeconomic development of individual underdeveloped countries but the proposed corrections were not adopted in the final text of the resolution.[3]

These reservations were elaborated in the joint declaration of 21 September 1970 of the socialist countries.[4] According to the postulates of the socialist countries, the assumptions for the international development strategy for the 1971-1980 period should define more consistently qualitative ways and means of improving the situation of the developing countries instead of being based on fixed guidepost indicators. These indicators, which on the whole were determined on the global scale, did not allow for the situation of particular countries. In international development strategy, the socialist countries wanted greater stress to be placed on the interdependence existing between peace, international security and disarmament, on the one hand, and international economic cooperation and the possibilities for the implementation of the postulates of the developing countries, on the other. The declaration pointed to the need to remove the principal impediments to the development of Third World countries in the form of all forms of neocolonial exploitation, as well as to the need to assure the full sovereign right of countries to develop their own natural resources and create a strong national industry. The socialist countries expressed their conviction that no plans or programs for development could assure real progress unless radical socioeconomic reforms were carried out. The implementation of these tasks presupposes the formation of a strong state and cooperative sector in the developing countries. The socialist countries put forward the thesis that the mobilization of the material and human resources of Third World countries will be of fundamental importance to their socioeconomic development.

Poland and other socialist countries declared their readiness for further development of all forms of cooperation with the underdeveloped countries. They made a proviso, however, that the postulate concerning the allotment of 1 percent of gross national income for the implementation of the tasks of the Second Decade of Development could not apply to the socialist countries, inasmuch as they did not bear the historic responsibility for the backwardness of the developing countries. The responsibility for this situation should be shouldered only by the former colonial powers. Moreover, the socialist countries pointed out that the strategy for the Second Decade cannot be focused solely on the developing countries and ignore the economic problems of the industrialized states, the more so as they have been affecting progress in the underdeveloped countries.

Although they did not directly take part in the drafting of the adopted document for the international development strategy (25th Session of the UN General Assembly, October 1970), the socialist countries did influence some of its provisions--among others, those relating to the need for structural reforms, a fuller utilization of native material, financial and human resources, and the training of specialist

personnel. This was a result of a drive conducted for many years by the representatives of the socialist countries. Polish diplomats distinguished themselves by their initiative in this respect.

The adoption of the document on international development strategy did not end the work on the new strategy. This work was continued in the 1970s. Poland contributed to the development of the strategy by: 1) presenting postulates of political, economic, and social nature (chiefly at the forum of the UN General Assembly, the Second Economic and Financial Committee, and the UN Economic and Social Council); 2) submitting concrete projects and motions to these bodies.

Poland, like the other socialist countries, has attached special importance to political and other factors influencing the development of international economic cooperation.[5] A particularly urgent question has been the liquidation of all forms of neocolonial exploitation in international relations. The Polish raison d'etat has consistently been in favor of the development of an international economic cooperation based on equitable principles and equal rights of all states. Poland's representatives at the United Nations have been demanding the abolition of all forms of economic discrimination and barriers to the development of international economic cooperation.[6] At 27th Session of the UN General Assembly (25 November 1972) the socialist countries submitted a draft of a declaration in support of economic, commercial and scientific-technical cooperation of all states on the basis of equal rights.[7] This cooperation--as stated in the declaration--should meet the strivings and interests of all nations and consequently result in improvements of social welfare and a more rapid development of the underdeveloped countries.

Poland's representatives at the United Nations have repeatedly drawn attention to the interdependence of peace and international security, on the one hand, and economic cooperation, on the other. The PRL [Polish People's Republic] minister of foreign affairs, Stefan Olszowski stressed in his speech during the general debate at the 28th Session of the UN General Assembly (27 September 1973) that a permanent world peace is impossible without the development of broad economic cooperation among the countries of the entire world and, conversely, global economic cooperation requires the assurance of peace and political cooperation. The historic decisions of the CSCE, which added a new dimension to East-West relations, while at the same time influencing the development of cooperation among other continents and their security, were mentioned in this connection. Poland was interested in the development of cooperation with all regions of the world. The Polish delegate W. Jurasz declared on 5 October 1971 at the Economic and Financial Committee that Poland supports initiatives intended to remove political and ideological barriers in international relations.

A condition for accelerating the development of the underdeveloped countries is--as emphasized by Poland's representative, Antoni Czarkowski at 30th Session of the UN General Assembly--peace and international security as well as progress in disarmament. He stated that the implementation of Resolution 3254 of the 29th [Session of the] UN General Assembly, which called upon the permanent members of Security Council to reduce military budgets by 10 percent and allot part of the thus-saved funds to development aid, would enable the United Nations to provide more effective assistance in this respect.[9]

Why have the Polish representatives to the economic bodies of the UN system been placing such strong emphasis on political factors? The belief is that this did not concern solely the pursuit of propaganda aims ensuing from ideology and foreign policy, contrary to what was thought in the West. Poland in the 1970s expanded its international economic activities, whose success hinged at some extent on the political atmosphere and international agreements. Poland attached importance to advantageous cooperation with the West and to gaining economic influence in the developing countries. Moreover, a reduction in international tension and armaments would result in increasing the budget for [Poland's] own economic purposes.

Poland's representatives to the economic bodies of the United Nations have been devoting most of their attention to strictly economic problems. They pointed to the need to work out new mechanisms of international cooperation, especially as regards international trade, technical-scientific cooperation, industrial coproduction, and currency relations. The view of the Polish side has been that cooperation between industrialized states and developing countries should be based on long-range agreements and coordination of development plants. An important function has also been ascribed to regional cooperation on particular continents. Foreign aid was to play a complementary role, and its principal form should be international division of labor that allows for the interests of all states and regions.[10]

The Polish side has often drawn attention to the role of science and technology in international cooperation. During 26th Session of the UN General Assembly on 5 October 1971 the PRL Foreign Affairs Minister Stefan Jedrychowski declared that:

"...activities of the United Nations in the field of science and technology should be oriented not only toward direct and emergency assistance in this respect to the developing countries, important as this may be, but also toward providing and improving the conditions for universal technological progress. To this end, the proper agencies of the United Nations should organize an exchange of [information about scientific and technological] accomplishments among the developed countries. Scientific and technological cooperation as it is understood now should comprise the full cycle of development, that is, research, development, and application."[11]

Polish representatives have been expressing the conviction that the UN Development Fund [UNDP] implements the most effective scientific and technological cooperation. Poland takes part in the work of the UNDP and has postulated a broader utilization of voluntary contributions of the socialist countries by the administration.[12] In addition, Polish experts have been taking part in preparatory work on the reform of the currency system, chiefly at the GATT bodies.[13]

Some of the postulates presented were of a verbal nature. Even those concerning trade and scientific-technical cooperation were translated into reality only to a degree. Some (political reservations, socioeconomic effects of disarmament) were purely declarative. Taken together, they provided the broader context and necessary justification for concrete Polish proposals made at the United Nations. They also have made a fundamental contribution to the program of the international development strategy for the 1970s.

Of the greatest importance in this respect is a resolution, adopted on Poland's initiative at the 53rd Session of the Economic and Social Council (1972), which

links agricultural reform to the whole of both internal and external means in the field of socioeconomic development. This assured the attainment of social progress and justice, constituting a fundamental element of development strategy of particular countries in the context of their development plans or priorities. The resolution encouraged the interested governments to consider agrarian reform as an important and integral part of national strategies for achieving the goals of the Second Decade of Development.[14]

It was to Poland's credit that it introduced [into consideration] problems of the cooperative movement at UNIDO, FAO, the Economic and Social Council, and the UN General Assembly, where these problems were linked to large-scale programs for cooperation and technical assistance, placing it in the general economic context with respect to the international development strategy. As a result, the new strategy for the 1970s was complemented with the recommendation that, depending on the socioeconomic structure and specific features of the individual countries, attention be paid to the role that the public and cooperative sectors can play in increasing production.

Poland took part at the United Nations in shaping the new principles and mechanisms for the regulation of international economic relations. Of major importance in this respect were the Polish initiatives regarding studies of long-range development trends in the world economy. These studies conditioned changes in the functioning of international cooperation. For the first time in the history of the United Nations, on Poland's initiative, the General Assembly adopted at its 30th Session on 15 December 1975 a resolution for investigating long-range trends of regional economic development.[15] Such studies were to be undertaken by regional economic commissions of the United Nations. On their basis the UN Secretariat was obligated to draft a report on long-range trends and programs of the economic development and interdependence of regions, as well as methodological directions for analysis of these trends in individual regions. In its preamble, the Polish resolution contained important formulations of the interdependence of peace and security with economic development. These questions were again raised by the Polish delegation at 32d Session of the UN General Assembly. The resolution adopted (8 December 1977) on the basis of a consensus recommends the drafting and presentation at the next session of the General Assembly of an interim report concerning an integral socioeconomic analysis for the periods until 1990 and 2000.[16] Research into long-range trends was again considered in 1979 at 34th Session of the UN General Assembly. The main role in drafting and negotiating the draft of the resolution was played by the Polish delegation.[17] The resolution stresses that knowledge of long-range trends of economic and social development represents a solid scientific basis that is useful to the process of policymaking and decisionmaking with respect to development strategy and economic cooperation, both on the national and regional scale and on the global scale. This document provides a specific plan of action regarding long-range and global economic forecasting. During the discussion at Economic and Financial Committee II concerning economic trends the Polish delegation was greatly commended for tis initiative. It was emphasized that work in this field serves the interests of both the developing and the developed countries.[18]

Poland made a major contribution to the determination of the principles of cooperation with respect to technical assistance, utilization of material resources, and protection of natural environment.

On Polish initiative, in 1973 additional criteria for the division of UNDP funds were introduced. These criteria give priority to the weaker countries and those existing in a particularly difficult situation, and they allow for internal efforts to overcome backwardness as well as for the effectiveness of the implementation of the assistance program. The socialist countries opposed the striving of many developing countries to transform the UNDP into an instrument for the transfer of means from the more developed countries to countries existing at a lower level of development. As the socialist countries see it, the UNDP is not limited to unilateral services but assures for all participants a share in the benefits and advantages ensuing from such cooperation.[19] On Poland's initiative, too, a compromise solution has been reached regarding the scope of the division into assisting countries and countries benefiting from UNDP assistance. For high-income countries, a requirement for benefiting from the services of the UNDP will be such an annual growth rate of their outlays as would enable them to transform themselves in 1981 into net sharers--their contributions to the UNDP would exceed the amount of the benefits they receive from the UNDP for their domestic programs. Owing to this decision, the universal nature of the UNDP was maintained.[20]

As regards benefiting from material resources, Poland has continued to support the striving of the developing countries to assure their permanent sovereignty over their own natural wealth, without, however, undertaking explicit initiatives in this respect. It should be borne in mind that this important endeavor was undertaken by the Polish delegation as early as at Sixth Session of the UN General Assembly in 1952, and continued during the 1960s and 1970s.[21] In addition, in the early 1970s, Poland committed itself to the cause of a peaceful utilization of the seas and the seabed. In 1971, at 25th Session of hte UN General Assembly, the delegations of Poland and other socialist countries abstained from voting on a resolution concerning the peaceful utilization of the sea and the seabed. That resolution was unacceptable to the socialist countries, because it presupposed revisions of virtually all the existing maritime conventions. The socialist countries held to the position that these conventions, which practice has confirmed, should remain binding.[22] On 17 August 1972, Poland's representative, Wlodzimierz Natorf, speaking in behalf of the delegations of Poland, Bulgaria, Czechoslovakia, Hungary and the USSR, presented the declaration of the socialist countries at the session of the UN Committee for the Peaceful Utilization of the Seabed. The declaration opposed the establishment of wide coastal zones and the reservation of exclusive rights for littoral countries. The socialist countries supported a reasonable compromise allowing for the interests of both the littoral states and the countries engaging in deep-sea fishing.[23] They failed, however, to influence the decision on this issue. The adopted solutions do not satisfy the states traditionally exploiting these zones, including Polish deep sea fishing which thus is sustaining considerable losses relating to the implementation of costly bilateral agreements with littoral states in Africa and America. On Poland's initiative, the states of the Baltic Littoral signed in 1973 a convention for fishery and the protection of live resources of the Baltic Sea and the Baltic states (the Gdansk Convention), and in 1974, a convention for protecting the marine environment of the Baltic (the Helsinki Convention).[24]

In the 1970s, considerable importance was attached to promoting the protection of the natural environment. Early in the last decade there appeared the report, MAN AND HIS ENVIRONMENT, by the then UN secretary general, U Thant. Poland joined in

the related activities by, among other things, taking part in the preparations for the world conference in Stockholm, which was convened in 1972. However, Poland did not participate in that conference owing to the exclusion of the GDR from it.[25] By virtue of the decision of the Stockholm Conference, the UN Environmental Protection Program commenced activities as of 1 January 1973. Poland took part in the work under that program, declaring its willingness to contribute 5 million zlotys annually.[26] Poland was the first of the socialist countries to undertake--in cooperation with the UNDP and the WHO--a program for scientific research work relating to the field of the natural environment of man.[27]

New International Economic Order

The work on the international strategy for the Second Decade of Development resulted in the crystallization of the premises of a new international economic order. The program for that new order was formulated at Sixth Special Session of the UN General Assembly (9 April-2 May 1974), convened at the initiative of the president of Algeria, Houari Boumedienne. This important international action was dictated by the times, since the world's previous economic difficulties became compounded by the outbreak of the fuel crisis, causing an exacerbation of the contradictions of interests within the group of the industrialized capitalist countries, as well as further economic difficulties among the developing countries. In such a situation the previous mechanisms for regulating international economic cooperation had ceased to function.

The UN member countries decided to undertake urgent efforts to establish a new international economic order based on justice, sovereign equality, interdependence, common interests and cooperation among all states regardless of their socioeconomic system, which would make it possible to eliminate the gap in development between the developed and developing countries.[28] These principles, mentioned in the declaration of the international economic order, were not new elements. They had been put forward for years by the socialist countries, and especially by the representatives of Poland. They were contained, like other points of the program for the new order, in the international development strategy for the 1970s. Under the new international economic order, however, their importance increased and they were linked to concrete measures and specific undertakings and directions of action.

This concerned the following problems:

1) international trade (determination of just price ratios between raw materials and industrial and investment goods, acceleration of exports by the developing countries);

2) international currency system and financing of the development of the developing countries (the ways and means of adapting the world financing and aid system were determined: transfer of 0.7 percent of gross national income by the developed countries for the developmental needs of the developing countries, an increase in assistance by the United Nations, amortization of part of indebtedness);

3) industrialization (the discussion concerned means of accelerating the share of the developing countries in world production--among other things, through relocation of industry to the developing countries);

4) technology transfer (it was decided to assure the selection of newest technologies, assure assistance in the formation of domestic technologies, and start preparations to draft a code [of provisions governing] technology transfer);

5) nutrition and agriculture (the recommendations made pertained to supply of means of production at moderate prices, food assistance, voluntary contributions to the International Fund for the Development of Agriculture);

6) development of cooperation among Third World countries;

7) assistance to states in maintaining sovereignty over their material resources;

8) regulation and monitoring of multinational corporations;

9) a special program for the developing countries most affected by the economic crisis;

10) drafting of a charter of economic rights and duties of the states;

11) strengthening of the role of the UN system in international economic cooperation.

The program for the new international economic order thus is chiefly focused on external sources for the development of Third World countries. True enough, the developing countries acknowledge in theory the fundamental role of internal factors in the process of their own development, but in practice this does not prevent them from making a broad variety of claims concerning the transfer of assistance and means from outside. As a result, the assurance of priority for the share of internal factors on the socioeconomic development of the developing countries, which has been so insistently pursued by Poland and other socialist countries, has not been reflected in these documents. The pressure by the Third World countries has been so strong that the most important solutions adopted were in accord with their interests. The initiatives by the developing countries ensued from the idea of the compensation they demanded from the industrialized states--the rich North, i.e., the capitalist and socialist states--compensation for the losses they were sustaining as a result of the fuel and raw-materials crisis. The socialist countries found it unacceptable to be placed on the same plane with the Western states. This was pointed out by the Polish and USSR ministers of foreign affairs. Minister S. Olszowski stated:

"Also unacceptable is the view that the socialist countries should together with the developed countries shoulder the the burden ensuing from the energy and raw-materials crisis, considering that the current wealth of the developed countries is traceable to colonial exploitation. In their history, neither Poland nor any other socialist countries has chosen the path of colonial expropriation of the wealth of other nations."[29]

Pursuant to the above position, the socialist countries declared themselves opposed to the transfer of part of their national income to the development of the underdeveloped countries.

Under the pressure of the developing countries, the new international economic order was basically reduced to a program of assistance for the Third World countries.

Poland supported the development of global international cooperation, with special consideration of the interests of the developing countries. The Polish deputy minister of foreign affairs, Stanislaw Trepczynski, speaking at Seventh Special Session of the UN General Assembly (4 September 1975), formulated three assumptions of global development strategy: 1) development and cooperation on the world scale should allow for the interests of all states; 2) development and cooperation on the regional scale and within the framework of integration groupings may not discriminate against states not belonging to these groupings or belonging to other groupings; 3) development on the national scale should proceed on the basis of a country's sovereign right to choose its own development strategy and dispose as it wishes of its own natural resources.[30] In view of the needs of global economic cooperation, Poland supported strengthening the role of the Economic and Social Council.

Poland's position was that strengthening the cooperation among all states regardless of their system of society and economic level would serve to create a solid foundation stimulating the development of the underdeveloped countries. Poland, on its part, proposed in lieu of financial aid an economic cooperation based on the following principles: equality of opportunity and partnership, mutual advantages, preferred status for the state sector of the developing country, favorable credit terms, linkage of economic assistance to terms of trade and industrial cooperation, and basing of the economic relations between the socialist states and the developing countries on planned and long-range ties.[31] It should be emphasized that these were program declarations which have not always been in accord with international practice.

Thus, Poland did not consent to the desire of the developing countries to subordinate the other states to their interests, but it expressed its assent to a certain preferential treatment of these countries, for example, as regards special customs preferences within the framework of the UNCTAD.[32]

While expressing the above reservations, the socialist countries at the same time approved of the new economic order and commenced its implementation. On the other part, the largest capitalist states did not support at the Sixth Special Session the program for the international roder, since the concepts it formulated were intended to restrict and eliminate colonial and neocolonial forms of domination and exploitation of the developing countries. The most determined opposition to the new order was voiced by the United States. On the other hand, the greatest understanding for these claims was demonstrated by the Scandinavian states and the Netherlands.[33]

After 1974, the system of economic organizations of the United Nations (the General Assembly, the Economic and Social Council, the UNCTAD, the UNIDO) commenced the implementation and concretization of the postulates of the new international economic order. Poland, too, took part in this work.

W. Jurasz, in his speech at the 63rd Session of the Economic and Social Council (8 July 1977), pointed out that the growing interdependence of the economic growth of individual countries required more active cooperation on the world scale and the assurance of peace and international security.[34] The Polish delegate was convinced that an effective implementation of the order required the fulfillment of certain prerequisites, i.e., the elimination of all forms of colonial and neocolonial exploitation, the introduction of social and economic reforms, development planning and maximal mobilization of internal resources. These postulates have long ago

been put forward by the socialist countries.[35] An important place in the work to establish the international economic order has been occupied by studies of long-range trends of world economic development, commenced on Poland's initiative. These studies produced interesting results, but certain governments with other viewpoints as to the future of the world economy made their implementation impossible.[36]

A step forward in implementing the new international economic order was the Charter of the Economic Rights and Duties of States, voted at 24th Session of the UN General Assembly (12 December 1974). That document was drafted on the initiative of the president of Mexico, L. Echeverria, with substantial active participation by the Polish delegation. Polish experts took part in the activities of the working group which drafted the Charter of Rights and Duties. The charter proclaimed principles of international economic relations based on the concept of broad economic sovereignty. Among other things, the charter established that every state has the right of free exercise of complete sovereignty over its wealth and material resources, as well as the right of controlling foreign investments on its territory, inclusive of the freedom of nationalization, expropriation, or transfer of foreign-owned property. These decisions met with sharp opposition from the principal capitalist countries (the United States, the FRG, Great Britain). The charter also recommends preferential treatment of the economic interests of the developing countries. Article 20 specifically concerns the socialist countries and establishes that the developing countries should pay adequate attention to the possibility of broadening their trade with the socialist countries. Moreover, the charter mentions among the fundamental principles of international economic realtions the principle of peaceful coexistence and proclaims the principle of nondiscrimination in economic relations. This document expresses support for disarmament efforts, viewing them as a chance for accelerating the development of the Third World. Six capitalist countries voted against this charter: Belgium, Denmark, Luxembourg, the FRG, the United States, and Great Britain.[38]

The issue of restricting the exploitation of the developing countries made further progress owing to the formation of the Commission for Multinational Corporations. For may years, Poland has been supporting controls on the progits of multinational corporations.

Some progress as regards the implementation of the economic order has also occurred in the field of international trade. Highly important work on an integrated raw materials system has been undertaken at the UNCTAD. The industrialized capitalist countries granted certain preferences to imports from the developing countries. Poland took an active part in this work, demanding the liberalization of world trade, multilateral trade negotiations, and the search for new means and mechanisms that could accelerate the development of international trade. In practice, Poland energized its trade relations (it signed an agreement with 42 developing countries and consented to grant them preferential discounts on imports), endeavoring to conclude long-term agreements.[39]

Work has also been started as regards technology transfers and attempts to initiate cooperation in the field of energy. Poland's representatives have put forward at the United Nations many proposals concerning energy cooperation. At the 30th Session of the UN General Assembly on 27 October 1975, the Polish delegation presented a postulate for the drafting of a global project regarding coal processing.[40]

In 1977, at the 63rd Session of the Economic and Social Council much attention was devoted to the directions of further work of the United Nations with respect to natural resources and fuels. The discussion proceeded chiefly on the basis of a resolution--initiated by Poland and adopted by the UN Committee for Natural Resources--specifying further directions of work to utilize coal as a chemical raw material, for the production of gases and liquid fuels of high calorific value.[41] In 1978, at the 65th Session of the Economic and Social Council Poland submitted a proposal for undertaking, within the framework of the United Nations, technical-economic studies of the extraction and utilization of coal, as well as a proposal for establishing an international coordination center for the gasification and liquefaction of coal. That initiative was unanimously accepted by the session participants.[42]

The developing countries have been exploiting the fuel-energy crisis as a means of exerting pressure on the developed capitalist countries. They have made the prices and guarantees of future supply of crude oil at a level satisfying the needs of the capitalist countries contingent on obtaining economic-financial concessions from the developed countries. This aspect was pointed out by, among others, the representatives of Iran and Bangladesh during the debate at the 64th Session of the Economic and Social Council (6 July-4 August 1977).

An important place in the new international economic order was to be occupied by a system for economic cooperation among the developing countries. Polish experts have pointed to the need to consider in that cooperation system the correlations between regional and interregional plans, studies of long-range trends, and activization of the United Nations, and especially of the regional commissions, in initiating cooperation among the developing countries as well as interregional cooperation. The fruitful regional cooperation in Europe and the role of the UN ECE in stimulating it were cited as an example.[43] The developing countries at the United Nations forum supported the development of cooperation and regional and interregional integration (Iran, Mexico, Brazil). The first instances of this type of cooperation were pointed out, namely, the Amazon River Treaty,[44] the Argentine government's proposal concerning negotiations about a hydroelectric power plant project, and the assistance of OPEC countries (2 percent of their national income) to the nonpetroleum less developed countries.[45]

Despite concrete accomplishments, the implementation of the program for the new order is progressing rather slowly. In 1976 30th Session the UN General Assembly adopted a resolution expressing anxiety about the slow rate of introduction of the new order. A year later, at 32d Session, the General Assembly expressed the view that negotiations on the economic order have produced limited results. A committee was appointed for the purpose of monitoring the implementation of the decisions and agreements reached in the negotiations to establish the new order, and the initiation of such negotiations.[46] It was the developing countries that were the most alarmed by the sluggish pace of introduction of the new order, and at successive sessions of the UN General Assembly they have been voicing growing disappointment and impatience.

The developed capitalist countries, on whom rests the onus of the implementation of the new order, are opposed to safeguarding the long-range interests of the developing countries under that order. They apply more often a policy of emergency

rebates, for example, reductions in the indebtedness of the developing countries or certain priorities for imports from the raw materials countries. The mightiest capitalist countries affirm the thesis put forward by the socialist countries, namely, that the economic system should evolve in the interest of all states instead of considering the needs of the developing countries alone.[47]

There also still exist divergencies between the position of the socialist countries and that of the developing countries. In 1978 at the 32d Session of the UN General Assembly the attitude of the Group of 77 toward the socialist countries had worsened. The developing countries exert pressure on the socialist countries in the expectation that their financial demands would be met.[48] Representatives of Third World countries (Mexico, Iran, Sudan) in their speeches at the United Nations voiced distrust in their own domestic possibilities and demanded foreign aid as the most effective means of economic development.[49] Such an attitude is not approved by the socialist countries. To be sure, they do not accept financial obligations but, insofar as they can, they provide aid to the developing countries. The socialist countries consistently adhere to the view that the most effective factor in a rapid development of productive forces is the mobilization of internal resources and the training of native personnel. Moreover, as is known, foreign aid, even when quite substantial, is not always fully utilized for developmental purposes.

In the face of new tasks confronting the United Nations in the 1970s, work to introduce revisions in the organization and functioning of the UN socioeconomic sector has been undertaken. Poland joined in this work, on supporting changes of a moderate nature. In 1977 at the 32d Session of the UN General Assembly, following several years of preparation, important organizational decisions were adopted. The principal issue was the establishment of the Office of the General Director for the Development of International Economic Cooperation, which would coordinate all socioeconomic activities of the United Nations. This was a weighted compromise between the extremist demands of certain developing countries, which clamored for far-reaching changes in the traditional structure of the United Nations, and the majority of the states, including the socialist countries, which believed that the structure of the United Nations should not be entirely subordinated to the developmental problems of the Third World.[50] Poland supported retaining the central role of the Economic and Social Council. On the other hand, the developing countries are interested in the formation of new economic agencies. Ever since the formation of the UNCTAD they have been trying to reduce the importance of the council. The formation of agencies independent of the Economic and Social Council results in the scatter of economic activities and consequently also in lower effectiveness. Of major importance to the functioning of economic cooperation was the resolution to enhance the role of programming and coordination within the UN system, which was adopted in 1977 at the 63rd Session of the council. The authors of that resolution were Poland, Bulgaria, Czechoslovakia, the Soviet Union and the Ukraine.[51]

International Development Strategy for the Third Decade. Global Negotiations

In 1973, the first review of international strategy was carried out and it revealed that its assumptions were not being implemented or, in many cases, were being implemented too slowly. Major reservations were elicited by the postulate regarding the transfer of 0.7 percent of national income to development aid. The index of fulfillment of that postulate during the 1970s ranged from 0.34 to 0.36 percent.

Only a few states provided aid exceeding 0.7 percent. During the second half of the 1970s they were Denmark, the Netherlands, Norway and Sweden. The United States and Japan provided aid in the amount of about 0.25 percent.[52] The work on the Integrated Raw Materials Program was halted, and no success had as yet been achieved in the negotiations concerning the technology transfer code. The sole accomplishment of the last stage of the dialogue was the agreement on a code regulating restrictive trade practices. Moreover, during that period the indebtedness of the developing countries further increased (in 1980 it exceeded $400 billion), their economies were not liberated from exploitation by multinational corporations, and their structure in international trade was not improved.

During the 1970-1980 period, despite increased foreign aid, there occurred a decline in the basic indicators (in per capita terms) in most of the less developed countries compared with the preceding decade. To be sure, the growth rate of gross national product reached 6.2 percent annually (compared with the 6 percent envisaged for the Third Decade), but in the nonpetroleum countries that growth rate was 5.4 percent, and in the least developed countries it was only 3.1 percent. The position of the nonpetroleum countries in international trade visibly deteriorated.[53] The divergencies within the bloc of the developing countries intensified. There is visibly increasing dissonance between the OPEC countries and the remaining Third World countries. The industrialized capitalist countries are beginning to concentrate on the solution of their own economic problems in face of the protracted decline in their economic growth rates. The situation is aggravated by the progressive rise in crude oil prices.

In such a situation there has occurred, on the one hand, an escalation of categorical demands by the developing countries and, on the other, growing rigidity of the position of the developed capitalist countries. An impasse has taken place in the dialogue between the North and the South. Thus, the developing countries proposed undertaking so-called global negotiations which created the hope that the impasse in the North-South dialogue would be broken. The idea of global negotiations originates from the decidedly negative assessment of the progress made in implementing the new international order by the developing countries. In 1979, at the 34th Session of the UN General Assembly, the problem of global negotiations was the chief topic of speeches during the economic debate. Two resolutions on this issue were adopted.[54] It was decided that global negotiations should be intended to undertake concrete actions of a comprehensive nature, and that they should pertain to the principal problems in the following fields: raw materials, energy, trade, currency-financial issues and development. It was agreed that global negotiations should proceed within the framework of the UN system, with the decisive role to be played by the General Assembly.

The round of global negotiations commenced during the 11th Special Session of the UN General Assembly (25 August-15 September 1980). Despite intense diplomatic efforts and repeated postponements of the closing day of the session, no agreement on this issue was reached. The initiation of such work was decisively opposed by the delegations of the United States, the FRG, and Great Britain.[55]

On the other hand, agreement was reached on recommendations for international development strategy for the next decade (1981-1990). The need for structural changes in the field of aid, trade, agriculture, industry, finance and energy, with the

obect of achieving more balanced relations on the world scale, was formulated. The need for an analysis of the causes and sources of the world's actual economic situation with the object of working out effective means for its improvement was postulated.[56] Many recommendations and indicators were adopted in the document on the international development strategy for the Third Decade. Individual developing countries determined their own growth indicators, with the proviso that the average annual growth rate of gross national product should be about 7 percent. It was postulated that the real annual growth rate of exports would be 7.5 percent and that of imports, at least 8 percent. Another recommendation was that aid to the Third World should be increased so as to reach the indicator of 0.7 percent of the gross national product of the developed countries. The states which already achieved that indicator, should increase it during the Third Decade. It appears that the adopted indicators are too optimistic. Moreover, the adopted strategy for the coming decade provides for action to improve the situation in the countries that have been most greatly affected by the economic crisis.[57]

Under the new development strategy, the developing countries place still greater emphasis on the decisive role of the external factor in stimulating or curtailing their development potential. Great hopes are placed, in particular, in the transfer of resources. [The developing countries] wish to imbue with a revolutionary content the changes in the structure and regulatory mechanism of international economic relations, and to assure their implementation on the bais of agreements between particular governments which would result in the formation of a centralized international monitoring and regulation system subordinated to the interests of the Third World.[58]

The industrialized capitalist countries favor an evolutionary course of changes and the primacy of the market mechanism in the restructuring of international economic relations. They prefer the structural changes to occur via the marketplace, since then the operating principles of the capitalist economy would not be violated. The West places emphasis on the priority of development efforts of the Third World countries, demanding that more consideration be given to social goals, and especially to meeting basic needs and assuring a socially just distribution of the benefits of development, while at the same time emphasizing the need for realism in the tasks for the comity of nations adopted in the strategy. It is worth noting that the first two of these desiderata were borrowed from the arsenal of arguments of the socialist countries.

The socialist countries supported the new strategy, although they have reservations about some of its assumptions. These reservations concern the issues named previously, namely, the nature of the international strategy (essentially, this was a program of aid to the Third World) and the financing of development aid by socialist countries on the same principles as by capitalist countries. Poland, while it appreciates the importance of external aid, has been consistently supporting the thesis of the full mobilization of internal resources and the necessity of socio-economic reforms with the object of creating solid foundations for economic growth in the developing countries. Poland's position is strengthened by the recent findings of studies by the Independent Commission for International Development under the chairmanship of Willy Brandt, whose final conclusion is that the South is responsible for its own development.[59]

The new development strategy postulates making allowance for the interrelationship of population, raw materials, man's environment, and development. The importance of these problems was stressed in 1979 at the forum of the UN General Assembly and the Economic and Social Council. In 1979 at 34th Session, the General Assembly adopted the next Polish resolution to continue research into economic trends.[60] The same session also approved unanimously the resolution, initiated by Poland and voted by the UN Commission for Social Development, for the further implementation of the aims of the Declaration of Social Progress and Development.

An important place in the international strategy for the 1980s is played by science and technology transfer. The expansion of UN programs, especially those of the UNDP, stressed the need to adhere to two basic principles of action of that program: universality and voluntariness in the implementation of the programs drafted.[61] Polish experts pointed out that the transfer of technology should be accompanied by the formation of an appropriate educational and economic infrastructure.

Problems of energy and raw materials need to be urgently solved. Poland presented before the Economic and Social Council (in 1979) a postulate concerning the expansion of international energy cooperation.[62] The Polish delegation takes part in the work of the committee preparing the UN Conference on New and Renewable Energy Sources, as well as in the Committee for Natural Wealth.[63]

The countries most interested in the solution of the energy problem are the issue. The developing countries, on the other hand, demand that other issues, too, be considered at the same time. They make concessions on the fuel question contingent on the progress of negotiations in particular fields. The scale of the demands of the developing countries is large. The industrialized capitalist countries are unwilling to pay such a high price for certain preferences in crude-oil supply. The global negotiations have reached a deep impasse. Crude oil, which in the 1907s led to the commencement of serious dialogue with the Third World, has now become a "political weapon" in international relations. Such a policy is not, however, producing the expected results. Moreover, crude oil has, among other things, revealed the existence of contradictions within the bloc of the developing countries. The absence of unity of action makes questionable the implementation of the goals outlined.

The development strategy for the 1980s was adopted under the considerable impact of the developing countries. The huge volume of Third World issues has dominated the activities of the United Nations and its specialized agencies. This is an alarming phenomenon. It is doubtful, moreover, whether centralized direction of the development processes of the world economy would be fully effective. The world needs global solutions, but individual or group contributions are decisive. It is difficult to find solutions that would satisfy all. In this connection, individual questions are chiefly being studied rather than resolved. Until quite recently it was still believed that the fault is entirely that of the richer countries which show bad faith in the resolution of many issues. Currently, however, this view too does not wholly correspond to truth.[64] The principal barriers to the development of the world economy are barriers of a social rather than natural kind. Their removal should make it possible to multiply human effort and release considerable development potential.[65]

There is no doubt that further "duplication" of economic development on the basis of traditional models is becoming impossible. The principal criteria for the world's further development strategy should be long-range interests of all mankind. There exists an urgent need to undertake more consistent and resolute action in order to reach an agreement on attitudes concerning global negotiations. This is because the documents adopted so far with regard to international development strategy and the new international economic order lack binding power, since they were adopted as resolutions rather than as conventions. Hence, the question is that of drafting conventions. The global negotiations initiated within the UN system have a chance to become the executive organ of the new strategy. Poalnd and other socialist countries supported this initiative, because they recognize that such an undertaking would contribute to eliminating the old economic order. It should be made clear, however, that the socialist countries are not so much in favor of global solutions--which lead to the concept of the United Nations "as a world government," which the socialist countries do not support, and which besides is unrealistic--as in favor of providing conditions for a true cooperation of all countries based on the principle of equality, nondiscrimination and mutual advantages. They demand that a leading role in the negotiations be assured for the UN General Assembly and the Economic and Social Council. In the present sitaution, however, the acceptance of concrete solutions regarding the implementation of the new strategy will not be easy. The system of international organizations and conferences becomes a powerless tool in face of the scale of the problems which they are asked to solve. Moreover, as is widely known, much depends on the international political situation.

FOOTNOTES

1. A. Czarkowski, "Genesis and Role of the New International Economic Order," WIES WSPOLCZESNA, No 10, 1997, p 100.

2. K. Piotrowska-Hochfeld, "ONZ a Trzeci Swiat. Zagadnienia Gospodarcze" [The United Nations and the Third World. Economic Problems], Warsaw, 1975, pp 34-42 and 139; "Dokumentacja Prasowa" [Press Documentation], 1970, p 941 A.

3. "Zbior Dokumentow" [Collection of Documents], No 2, 1969, Item 17, and No 12, 1968, Item 242.

4. Doc. A/8074 of 21 September 1970.

5. See TRYBUNA LUDU of 6 October 1971; "Zbior Dokumentow," No 10, 1973, Item 161, pp1503-1515; "Documents Officiels de l'Assemblee generale, deuxieme Commission" [hereinafter referred to as "DAdC"], 29th Session, p 75; "DAdC," 28th Session, p 90.

6. "Dokumentacja Prasowa," 1976, p 1222 B.

7. Doc. A/C.2/L.1253 and A/8963, p 38.

8. "DAdC," 30th Session, p 29

9. "DAdC," 30th Session, pp 229-230.

10. Doc. A/C.2/SR1459 and A/C2./L.1253; "DAdC," 29th Session, p 71; "Zbior Dokumentow," No 10, 1974, Item 139, pp 1941-1942; "Dokumentacja Prasowa," 1975, p 725 D; K. Piotrowska-Hochfeld, op. cit., p 258.

11. TRYBUNA LUDU of 6 October 1971.

12. Doc. A/C.2/SR.1459; "DAdC," 30th Session, p 230.

13. "DAdC," 26th Session, pp 28-29, and 28th Session, p 99; TRYBUNA LUDU of 29 September 1973.

14. A. Czarkowski, op. cit., p 99.

15. Res. 3503/XXX/ of 15 December 1975.

16. Res. 32/57/XXXII/ of 8 December 1977; see also Rez. 2090/LXIII of the Economic and Social council and doc. E/L 1780.

17. Resz. 3457/XXXIV/ of 29 November 1979.

18. A. Abraszewski, "30th Session of the UN General Assembly," SPRAWY MIEDZYNARODOWE, No 3, 1980, p 125.

19. K. Piotrowska-Hochfeld, op. cit., pp 322-323.

20. Poland is a country that contributes to and benefits from UNDP funds. During the years 1967-1971 Poland's contributions to this program were about $2.25 million, while the UNDP's benefits for Poland exceeded $7 million (Ibid., p 324).

21. The UN General Assembly adopted important resolutions on this matter in 1962, 1966, 1968, 1970, 1972, and 1973.

22. Doc. 2749/XXV/ and 2750/XXV/.

23. "Zbior Dokumentow," No 8, 1972, Item 197, pp 1473-1475.

24. A. Czarkowski, J. Woronicki, "Development of International Cooperation for the Protection of Natural Environment," SPRAWY MIEDZYNARODOWE, No 12, 1979, p 57.

25. TRYBUNA LUDU of 6 October 1971 and 30 May 1972.

26. "Dokumentacja Prasowa," 1974, p 404 A; see also report on environmental protection drafted with Poland's participation--Rez. 2112/LXIII/, approved at the 63rd Session of the Economic and Social Council (6 July--4 August 1977).

27. "DOkumentacja Prasowa," 1972, p 120 B; TRYBUNA LUDU of 17 October 1972.

28. "Zbior Dokumentow," No 8/9, 1975, Item 72; Resolution 3362 of the UN Special Session of 16 September 1975.

29. "Zbior Dokumentow," No 4, 1974, Item 36, p 308.

30. "Zbior Dokumentow," No 8/9, 1975, Item 71, pp 504-505; W. Jurasz, "The Fourth Special Session of the UN General Assembly," SPRAWY MIEDZYNARODOWE, No 12, 1975, pp 160-168.

31. B. Jasinski, "The New International Economic Order: Assumptions and Reality," SPRAWY MIEDZYNARODOWE, No 1, 1980, pp 39-40; S. Borowy, "The Fourth Special Session of the UN General Assembly," SPRAWY MIEDZYNARODOWE, No 8/9, 1974, p 149; TRYBUNA LUDU of 30 September 1977.

32. See R. Kudlinski, "Qualities of Contemporary World Economy," SPRAWY MIEDZYNARODOWE, No 12, 1979, p 119.

33. "Dokumentacja Prasowa," 1974, p 486 A.

34. Proces-verbaux officiels du Conseil Economique et Social (hereinafter referred to as PCES), 63rd Session (6 July--4August 1977), pp 17 and 19.

35. Documents officiels de l'Assemblee generale. Vingt-cinquieme session--Doc. A/3074; Vingt-huitieme session--Doc. A/9389; Trente-deuxieme session. Supplement No 15 /A/32/15, Vol 1.

36. PCES, p 13.

37. Res. 3261 (XXIX) of 12 December 1974.

38. "DAdC," 28th Session, p 90; A. Abraszewski, "The 29th Session of the UN General Assembly," SPRAWY MIEDZYNARODOWE, No 3, 1975, pp 138-139; "Encyklopedia swiat w przekroju" [Encyclopedia--A Cross Section of the World], Warsaw, 1975, pp 404-405.

39. "PCES," pp 18-19; "DAdC," 28th Session, p 91.

40. "DAdC," 30th Session, p 320.

41. "Dokumentacja Prasowa," 1977, p 737 C.

42. "Dokumentacja Prasowa," 1978, p 792 C.

43. "PCES," pp 132-133 and 158.

44. The Amazon River Treaty is a pact signed in 1978 by eight countries located in the basin of that river: Bolivia, Brazil, Ecuador, Guiana, Colombia, Peru, Surinam, and Venezuela. The treaty provides for cooperation in the use and protection of the resources of the Amazon (POLITYKA, No 45, 1908, p 2).

45. "PCES," pp 27, 32, and 76.

46. A. Abraszewski, "The 31st Session of the UN General Assembly," SPRAWY MIEDZYNARODOWE, No 3, 1976, p 130; "Dokumentacja Prasowa," 1977, p 1162.

47. "PCES," pp 15 and 17.

48. M. Paszynski, "The Socialist Countries in the Mulitlateral Debate on World Economic Relations," SPRAWY MIEDZYNARODOWE, No 5, 1979, p 94.

49. "PCES," p 198.

50. A. Abraszewski, "The 32d Session of the UN General Assembly," SPRAWY MIEDZYNARODOWE, No 4, 1978, p 178; Doc A/3473/.

51. "PCES," p 198.

52. J. Kleer, "On the Threshold of the Third Decade," POLITYKA, No 42, 1980.

53. M. Paszynski, "International Strategy for Third Decade of Development," SPRAWY MIEDZYNARODOWE, No 7/8, 1980, pp 58-67.

54. Res. 34/138/XXXIV/ and 34/139/XXXIV/ of 14 December 1979.

55. POLITYKA, No 40, 1980, p 12.

56. TRYBUNA LUDU of 16 and 17 September 1980.

57. TRYBUNA LUDU of 10 December 1980.

58. M. Paszynski, op. cit., pp 63-65.

59. For broader treatment, see Z. Zimny, "Report of the Brandt Commission on International Development Problems," SPRAWY MIEDZYNARODOWE, No 7/8, 1980, pp 173-182.

60. Rapport du Conseil Economique et Social pour l'annee 1979, New York, 1980, p 21; Res. of the Economic and Social Council, Doc. E/1979/, p 52; TRYBUNA LUDU of 7 October 1980 and 26-27 July 1980.

61. Rapport du Conseil (...), p 25; Res. of the Economic and Social Council, Doc. A/34/44/1979; TRYBUNA LUDU of 11 June 1980.

62. The proposal concerned chiefly expanding the cooperation with respect to management of coal (new methods for the utilization and processing of coal) as an energy source alternative to crude oil and natural gas (TRYBUNA LUDU of 26-27 July 1980).

63. Doc. E/1979/SR.40 and E/1979/39.

64. Z. Rurarz, "Protracted Paralysis," POLITYKA, No 12, 1979.

65. Z. Rurarz, "Dylematy rozwoju" [Dilemmas of Development], Warsaw, 1977, pp 31-33.

1386
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INSTITUTIONS SHAPING FOREIGN POLICY NOTED

Warsaw SPRAWY MIEDZYNARODOWE in Polish No 6, Jun 81 pp 103-116

[Article by Prof Dr Hab Longin Pastusiak, deputy director of the Institute for Research of Contemporary Problems of Capitalism]

[Text] Studies on the institutional aspects of the development of Polish foreign policy present a rather modest appearance among us. Meanwhile, they have important significance--not only scholarly, but practical as well. They can contribute to increasing the effectiveness of the operation of the foreign policy of our country, to streamlining the decisionmaking process in this sphere of state operation and to raising the level of the general political culture of society.

A whole series of organs and institutions, in various way and with varied scope, has an effect on the shape of Polish foreign policy. The constitution of the PRL [Polish People's Republic] defines the range and the tasks of the most important of these.

Foreign Affairs in the PRL Constitution

The PRL constitution, passed in 1952 and amended in 1976, devotes much attention to problems of Poland's relations with foreign countries. Above all, it defines the powers of state organs in this area, including the Sejm, the Council of State and the Council of Ministers.

A new article was added as an amendment to the constitution. This amendment, dated 10 February 1976, became Article 6, defining the basic contents of PRL foreign policy in the contemporary world. It states the following:

"The Polish People's Republic in its policy":

1. "Is directed by the interests of the Polish nation, its sovereignty, independence and security, by the will to preserve peace and cooperation among nations."
2. "Refers to the lofty traditions of solidarity with the forces of freedom and progress, strengthens friendship and cooperation with the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics and other socialist states.
3. "Bases its relations with states having different social systems on principles of peaceful cooperation and collaboration."[1]

The above article of the constitution marks out the goals of Polish policy (the strengthening of sovereignty, independence and national security, the desire for peace and international cooperation) and defines the paths or methods of their implementation (friendship with socialist countries and peaceful cooperation with other states). These paths or methods "are to serve this designated goal faithfully and it is for this reason, in the name of better safeguarding the sovereignty of the national and the state, that the constitutional principle of friendship and collaboration with socialist states and peaceful cooperation with other states is proclaimed."[2]

On this same subject Andrzej Gwizdz writes:

"Without entering into an analysis of the political motives for adding to the constitution in this way, one cannot help noting that from a strictly legal viewpoint it was not toally indispensable, especially since the first and the second of the above-noted principles were, at that, removed from the already binding statements in the introductory chapter of the constitution before the chapter was amended."

This writer states that as a result of amendments, the basic constitutional principles of the foreign policy of the PRL have become stated in a clearer, more unequivocal way and are now able to a greater degree to fulfill "the role of being a criterion in the Sejm's evaluation of the consistency of the policy being conducted by state organs with regard to the legal principles of the system."[3]

The constitution also defines in part the process of the inclusion and ratification of international agreements. The lack of a constitutional definition of the relationship between international law and domestic law is a definite shortcoming.

"A heated discussion has developed in Poland around this topic. Various positions have been defined in this discussion concerning the effects of PRL international agreements on domestic relations. In principle, most writers have been in agreement that in the Polish constitutional system there does not occur the automatic incorporation of international law, and particularly of PRL international agreements, into domestic legal order. At the same time, none of the authors questioned the binding force of PRL international agreements for state organs. Hence, the problem which emerges in practice is that of ensuring the effectiveness of international law or, more broadly, the state's discharging of its international obligations--and not whether the state has a duty to discharge its international obligations."[4]

Moreover, Article 11, Item 4 of the constitution states that "the state has a monopoly on foreign trade."[5] The state monopoly on foreign trade is considered to be an important feature of the socialist economy. It should be emphasized, however, that in the case of Poland this is not understood as aiming toward the absolute concentration of foreign trade within the hands of the state. Cooperative organizations, for example, play an important role in Polish foreign trade.

Polish United Workers Party [PZPR]

The role of the PZPR in shaping Polish foreign policy emanates, above all, from the fact that it is the ruling party, which, in accordance with Article 3 of the PRL constitution is the "leading political force of society in the building of socialism."[6] In the exercise of its authority, the PZPR cooperates with the United Peasant Party [ZSL] and the Democratic Party [SD].

Examinations of the role of the PZPR sometimes speak of its "leadership" role, of its role as a "leading force." The difference between these concepts are not entirely clear and to date have not been properly elaborated in Polish legal or politilogical literature.

"It is a fact that the PZPR fills a managerial role in our society. At the same time, this fact is generally recognized in our political life. The principle of the managerial role in the PZPR is fully recognized by allied parties, and the party of the working class, having drawn conclusions from the irregularities which have occurred in this field, has recognized the independence of allied parties and their role as factors in the development of People's Poland. The principle of the managerial role of the PZPR, therefore, was and is fully recognized in our social and political practice and is applied in daily living."[7]

The concept of the party as a leading political force in society is explicitly defined by Marian Rybicki. In his opinion, the leading role of the party should be expressed in the concentration of its efforts and in the execution of the following functions:

--developing programs and guidelines for the directions of the socioeconomic development of the country;
--the training, selection and advancement of managerial cadres;
--political control over the implementation of established tasks and goals.[8]

The role of the PZPR in shaping Polish foreign policy is enormous. It is, above all, a programing role. In the resolutions adopted at PZPR congresses, much attention is given to foreign policy. Moreover, at some congresses, special resolutions are passed concerning international affairs. At the Eighth PZPR Congress, e.g., a resolution entitled "Concerning the Preservation of Peace, the End of the Arms Race and the Continuation of the Detente Policy."[9] During several recent congresses, the practice of appointing issues commissions to work in detail on selected international problems has been introduced.

Resolutions and documents from party congresses offer guidelines for the basic directions of operation, they mention the main principles of Polish foreign policy and they evaluate the basic characteristics of the international situation, which are then implemented by other party organs and--above all--by state organs. Dut to their general character, subsequent congressional resolutions on the question of foreign policy do not comprise basic changes. On the contrary, they are characterized by 3 certain continuity, which likewise reflects the stability of the principles of Polish foreign policy.

The Central Committee, Political Bureau, PZPR Central Committee Secretariat and other, lower party echelons play an important role in the shaping and implementation of foreign policy.

Problems connected with foreign policy are rarely the subject of deliberations at a Central Committee plenum. Meanwhile, they are more often part of the daily order of Political Bureau and Secretariat business. Higher ranking problems are the subject of Political Bureau deliberations. These include: More important party-governmental and state visits and multilateral and bilateral consultations with representatives and communist and workers parties. In such cases, the Political Bureau passes resolutions endorsing the results of a particular consultation, conference or meeting. At least one Political Bureau member and one Central Committee secretary are responsible for foreign affairs.

The PZPR Central Committee Foreign Department handles matters of daily work in the sphere of foreign policy and the foreign contacts of the PZPR. This department is part of the executive apparatus of the Central Committee, appointed to implement the resolutions of higher party echelons. The PZPR Central Committee Foreign Department cooperates closely with the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, although sometimes problems emerge which issue from a lack of total clarity concerning the distribution of tasks. Of course, it should be remembered that the minister of foreign affairs is both a member of the Political Bureau and a member of the Central Committee.

The PZPR as a communist party and a workers party is programmatically and ideologically an internationalist party. This internationalism manifests itself through such activities as the maintaining of lively active contacts with other party. These contacts include: The exchange of party visits, meetings during and between congresses, participation in regional conferences and in regular consultations of secretaries for ideological and foreign affairs, participation of first secretaries in consultations of the Political Consultative Committee of the States-Parties of the Warsaw Pact and meetings of the first secretaries of ruling parties in socialist countries held in the Crimea. The fruits of these meetings are protocols, declarations, pronouncements and understandings which play an important role in the shaping and implementation of the foreign policy of the state in various spheres.

Thus, the party has become an important subject of international relations. At the same time, the PZPR exhibits extraordinary activism in the sphere of foreign activity. The PZPR Central Committee first secretaries have sent out many crucial diplomatic initiatives. The name of W. Gomulka is associated with the idea from 1963 of freezing arms in Central Europe (the so-called Gomulka Plan) as well as with the proposal for normalizing relations between Poland and the FRG. E. Gierek presented the draft of a resolution for educating societies in the spirit of peace before the United Nations. During the period of the detente crisis in East-West relations in 1980, upon the invitation of E. Gierek, Leonid Brezhnev and Valery Giscard d'Estaing held a meeting in Warsaw. The direct participation of the PZPR Central Committee first secretary in bilateral and multilateral conferences has likewise been accepted in the West and has been treated as participation at the level of head of state.

The party implements its program in foreign policy via state organs headed by party members: The premier, ministers, the chairman of the Council of State and the like. The close cooperation of the party and the government has enabled the practice of sending party-state delegations or party-governmental delegations abroad to continue. While this primarily affects relations with socialist states, it does not do so exclusively: In contacts with capitalist countries during the 1970's, it was a generally accepted practice that the first secretary of the PZPR Central Committee led the state delegation (the visits of E. Gierek to the United States, France, Sweden, Italy, Belgium and other countries).

In addition to its programing functions in the sphere of foreign policy, the PZPR likewise sets for itself ideological-upbringing and propaganda tasks. It organizes research bases in the field of foreign policy, conducts propaganda activities within society and, in this way, influences public opinion, which legitimizes a given foreign policy program of the party and the state.

As is evident from these brief remarks, the Polish United Workers party not only formulates the general principles and program goals of Polish foreign policy, but it participates in transforming these principles into concrete actions, it takes part in the implementation of this program, it exercises control over it and it participates actively in actions, whose goal is to win over Polish society and the international community to these principles. Thus, its role is multileveled and multifunctional. The cooperation of the party and the state is so close that it is sometimes difficult to separate the two.

Sejm

The place of the Sejm in the shaping of Poland's foreign policy emanates from its role as the highest organ of state authority as well as the highest representative organ. The Sejm passes the constitution and laws. Since the constitution contains articles which define the principles of Polish foreign policy, it may be proposed that this gives the Sejm an additional possibility for influencing the foreign policy of the country.

The Sejm has not reserved for itself any special powers in the field of foreign policy other than constitutional-legislative powers. "The role of the Sejm on this subject amounts to controlling the implementation of foreign policy from the viewpoint of researching its regularity, i.e., the conformity of concrete decisions and moves of government organs with the goals and principles defined in the PRL constitution and with the statements contained in Sejm laws and resolutions marking out the basic directions of state activity in the area of foreign relations."[11]

Certain questions connected with internationa rela ons are regulated by Sejm laws, e.g., state borders, the principles of trespassing borders both for Polish citizens and foreigners, certain aspects of the sojourn of foreigners and the diplomats of other states in Poland, customs inspection, and the principles of air, sea and postal communication with foreign countries. The Sejm, upon the recommendation of the premier, fills the position of minister of foreign affairs and approves the major reorganization of this ministry, e.g., the combining or the separation of the ministries of foreign affairs and foreign trade. The Sejm likewise dismisses the minister of foreign affairs on the basis of a law dated 29 May 1974, concerning the scope of operation of the minister of foreign affairs.

In the majority of cases, the legislative initiative in matters of foreign policy comes from the government. In recent years, deputies have likewise undertaken such initiatives. For example, they have submitted drafts of laws concerning the territorial sea, the Polish zone for deep-sea fishing and the continental shelf of Poland. The Sejm likewise plays a definite role in the ratification of some treaties.

The Sejm passes resolutions expressing its position on a given issue. Some of these resolutions are of a ceremonial or an occasional nature and others mark out the direction of state activity. For example, this takes place when the minister of foreign affairs periodically assembles information concerning the current international situation and the major directions of Poland's foreign policy. On 23 October 1975, the Sejm passed a resolution concerning the results of the Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe [CSCE]. One purpose of this resolution was to oblige State organs to put into effect the provisions of the CSCE Final Act.

The Sejm exercises control over the activity of state organs, including the Ministry of Foreign Affairs and other institutions operative within the sphere of foreign policy. The Sejm executes control functions over foreign policy primarily through the Foreign Affairs Commission and the Foreign Trade Commission. These commissions have the right to require the submission of specific information and the presence of specific personages at a meeting, as well as the right to hear out their opinions. As a rule, the minister of foreign affairs or his deputy, as well as the minister of foreign trade and the marine economy present oral or written reports at commission meetings. If the commission so desires, the minister is obliged to be present.

As a rule, having listened to the opinions of the minister of foreign affairs, and having discussed the specific problem, the commission comes forth with desiderata and an opinion. While these do not have binding force for the addressee, they do oblige him to analyze them carefully, to take a position regarding them and to give an answer within 30 days.

During the 1976-1980 Sejm term, the Foreign Affairs Commission numbered 40 deputies. It included members from all party clubs and Catholic deputies' circles. During that term, 39 meetings of the commission were held. However, only four desiderata and six opinions were agreed upon. Hence, it may be asserted that the commission did not take advantage of all of its potential.

The scope of the commission's work has been broad. Questions which have been discussed include foreign tourist traffic, governmental policy concerning family ties, questions of disarmament and military detente, cultural and scientific-technical cooperation with foreign countries, problems of fishing on the Baltic, the CSCE in Belgrade, relations with the FRG, Poland's implementation of the International Convention on Human and Political Rights, relations with the USSR and other socialist countries, CEMA cooperation with the Common Market, the implementation of the UN General Assembly Declaration on educating societies in the spirit of peace and the international aspects of environmental protection.[12]

The Sejm Foreign Affairs Commission has dealt with many issues of key significance to Polish foreign policy.

"The commission system makes possible a more searching, in-depth look, free of generalities and redundancies; it enables the penetration of the essence of issues because of the more private atmosphere of deliberations which fosters free discussion and the rapid exchange of simple questions and answers. The smaller body of members of Sejm commissions, which are composed of 30 to 40 deputies as a rule, likewise enables the more efficient calling of meetings and deputies as a rule, likewise enables the more efficient calling of meetings and gathering of positions on issues demanding immediate opinions."[13]

It should be kept in mind, however, that commissions fulfill an auxiliary role.

We should also mention the work of the Foreign Trade Commission, which e.g., in the course of 42 meetings from 1976 through 1980, engaged in detailed discussion of the state of Poland's economic relations with various countries, issues connected with economic integration, giving Poland's products access to foreign markets, financial relations with foreign countries and the like. During this time, the commission adopted 20 opinions, but did not resolve even one desideratum.

International topics are relatively rarely discussed at plenary deliberations of the Sejm. From the time that the constitution was put into effect in 1952 until the end of 1966, foreign policy issues were the subject of plenary deliberations of the Sejm only eight times. On one occasion, the issue was the ratification of an international agreement; on two other occasions, it was the policy statement of a government member; four instances concerned reports from conferences and foreign visits, and in one case instance it was a question of resolving an answer to the proclamation of another parliament.[14] During the 1976-1980 term, the Sejm voted on 31 March 1977 to change a law concerning aliens; on 17 December 1977, it passed a law concerning the territorial sea, and twice the chairmen of the Council of Ministers made pronouncements likewise concerning PRL foreign policy. In 1976, the minister of foreign affairs presented information concerning the results of the visit of the PXPR Central Committee first secretary to the FRG and concerning the problems of Polish foreign policy. During the 1976-1980 term, the Sejm likewise adopted several resolutions concerning the results of state visits, multilateral consultations and other events in PRL foreign policy.

Control over foreign policy is exerted in the Sejm through the examination and approval of the government program contained in the policy statement of the chairman of the Council of Ministers at the opening of each new term and through the examination of the making of the budget and the various governmental reports and communications concerning international affairs. Deputies' interpellations, which are rather rare in the case of foreign policy matters, represent another form of parliamentary control. During the Seventh Sejm term from 1976-1980, such a situation did not occur even once.

An example of the Sejm's involvement in foreign affairs is the creation of parliamentary bilateral groups. During the current Sejm term, on 19 December 1980, the following bilateral groups were set up (the chairman of each group is in parentheses): Polish-Austrian (Wilhelm Szewczyk), Polish-Belgian (Franciszek Sadurski), Polish-British (Mieczyslaw F. Rakowski), Polish-French (Adam Lopatka), Polish-Greek (Mieczyslaw Serwinski), Polish-Japanese (Zbigniew Zielinski) and Polish-Italian (Marceli Faska).[15] The task of these groups is to maintain contacts with the parliaments of other states and to promote the development of bilateral relations in all fields.

The Polish Group of the Inter-Parliamentary Union operates out of the Sejm. Formally, the union is a nongovernment organization, but through participation in its work, deputies take part i the implementation of Polish foreign policy. They present Poland's position in the international forum, express their attitudes toward the issues which are found on the agenda of this organization and they inform Polish public opinion about the results of deliberations.

The Sejm maintains extensive relations with the parliaments of various countries.[16] Moreover, deputies are included in the makeup of the various state delegations and they participate in talks, negotiations and meetings, in this way entering into the process of foreign policy implementation.

From a formal viewpoint, the Sejm has enormous potential for shaping foreign policy and controlling its implementation. In practice, however, the Sejm has not fully utilized this potential. Some international subjects should make their way into the plenary deliberations of the Sejm. Plenary appearances should be debate and discussions, and not merely declarative pronouncements. It is not a question here of changing the legislation of rules or regulations, but primarily of changing

practices and prevailing customs. The Sejm Foreign Affairs Commission has particularly great potential to have a marked effect on the formulation and implementation of foreign policy. The commission should make use of its own research and information apparatus as a basis for the expression of more recommendations and opinions for political-diplomatic practice.

Interest in international affairs, in Poland is tremendous. Rarely, however, do these problems reach the agenda of deputies' meetings with the constituency. Meanwhile, such meetings not only create an opportunity for deputies to influence society, but likewise enable deputies to better understand the views and feelings prevailing among constituents and facilitate the transmission of these feelings to the state channels shaping foreign policy.

Prof Marian Rybicki writes: "We can expect that under circumstances of an improved socialist democracy, there will occur both the intensification and the improved utilization in practice of the hitherto existing institutions and forms of parliamentary activity, as well as their further development to the end of ensuring the total conformity of all endeavors in the area of foreign policy with the needs and will of the nation, as represented and expressed by its representatives in the Sejm."[17]

We may assume that the currently observed enlivened activity in the Sejm likewise touches the sphere of foreign policy.

Council of State

The Council of State and the Sejm are the supreme organs of state authority, but the Council of State is subject to the Sejm. In a period when the Sejm is not in session, it operates on its behalf, in a certain sense (it is able to issue decrees, among other things). The Council of State is a sort of collective head of state. From this emanates its specific role in the field of Poland's relations with foreign countries.

The Council of State is not the primary organ shaping or implementing foreign policy. Nonetheless, it exerts fundamental influence on the whole picture of Poland's relations with foreign countries. The Council of State is entrusted with functions briefly defined as its ratifying, accrediting, nominating and defense functions.[18] This refers in particular to the person chairing the Council of State and to his contacts with the heads of other states. Moreover, "the Council of State likewise exerts its influence on the shaping of relations with foreign countries within the framework of its functions primarily directed toward the domestic sphere, such as its regulative functions and those functions which concern distinctions and the Polish citizenry."[19]

According to the constitution, the Council of State ratifies and declares international agreements. This function has been entrusted to it according to the principle of exclusivity, but exceptions to this do occur.[20] During the postwar period, the Council of State turned twice to the Sejm to ratify or to cooperate in the ratification process. In both cases it was a question of documents which were of particular significance for Polish foreign policy.

In 1965, the Council of State turned to the Sejm to ratify the Warsaw Pact. The proposal was first examined by the Sejm Foreign Affairs Commission, and then presented to the Sejm. The Sejm ratified the Warsaw Pact, but the ratifying document itself was prepared by the Council of State. In this document, the Council of State ascertained that the Sejm had ratified the Warsaw Pact. It should be stressed, however, that according to the constitution, the Council of State is the proper ratifying organ.

Another exception took place in 1972 and concerned a pact on the bases for normalizing relations between Poland and the FRG, dated 7 December 1970. In this case, still another procedure was used. The Council of State turned to two Sejm commissions--the Foreign Affairs Commission and the Commission for Legislative Work--to hand down opinions on the subject of the pact. At a plenary meeting on 27 April 1972, the Sejm heard out the minister of foreign affairs on the subject of ratification and adopted a proposal of the Senior Assembly which ordered both commissions to express an opinion on ratification at a joint meeting. Then the chairman of the Foreign Affairs Commission submitted a resolution to both commisions at a meeting of the Council of State, after which the Council ratified the pact. "In this case, the inclusion of the Sejm in the ratifying procedure occurred in a form which did not restrict the constitutional power of the Council of State in the area of ratifying international agreements. The two examples cited attest to the fact that in matters of international agreements of particularly vital importance, the Council of State, on its own initiative, turns to the highest organ of state authority, i.e., the parliament, for its position. This type of procedure is based on the aforementioned constitutional principles of the total subordination of the Council of State in all of its activity to the Sejm."[21]

Regulations adopted by the Council of State at the beginning of each term determine the ratifying procedure. After a proposal for ratification is submitted by the minister of foreign affairs, this proposal is given over to examination by the appropriate commission. The commission studies the proposal in great detail, including the conformity of the given agreement with state interests, the financial and legal consequences and the like. The Council of State resolution is signed by the chairman of the Council of State. The exchange and the composition of the ratifying documents lies within the power of the minister of foreign affairs. At his recommendation, the chairman of the Council of State orders the publication of the given ratifying agreement in the DZIENNIK USTAW. At this point, the agreement becomes a binding document of international law for Poland. During the period 1952-1956, the Council of State ratified approximately 160 international agreements.[22]

In Polish legal and political literature, frequent mention is made of the need to specify the ratifying procedure more precisely. The issue of making an entry into the constitution granting the Sejm the power to ratify international agreements is raised. "In particular, there is indicated the advisability of introducing a regulation concerning the Sejm's expression of its approval of the ratification of those treaties, the subjects of which lie in fields already regulated by law or for which a legal avenue is required."[23] In the opinion of A. Gwizdz, "the passage of laws creating legal circumstances for the implementation of the legal principles of the system, constitutionally established, belongs to the constitutional duties of the Sejm. From this viewpoint, the prolonged lack in our legal system of the statutory regulation of the principles of the concluding and ratifying of international agreements should be considered a negative phenomenon; the partial settlement of this

matter by joint resolution of the Council of State and Council of Ministers, adopted, by the way, without a clear legal basis, cannot be considered a lasting solution."[24] Nor does the constitution offer any more precise instructions concerning the legal significance to be attached to the ratification of international agreements executed by the Council of State. This problem is especially significant with regard to those agreements which include regulations which direclty affect or even directly bind citizens."[25]

In speaking of the powers of the Council of State in the area of ratification, we should emphasize that, although international agreements are negotiated and concluded by the government, those agreements which require ratification are sent in draft form to the Chancellery of the Council of State. Theoretically, this creates the possibility for the chairman of the Council of State to submit possible corrections. The chairman of the Council of State likewise draws up the power of attorney for signing the international agreement. Such powers of attorney are also countersigned by the minister of foreign affairs. If, on the other hand, the chairman of the Council of State signs an agreement, such powers of attorney are not required.

The accrediting function of the Council of State resides in its receptio of letters of accreditation and letters of dismissal of representatives of other accrediting states in Poland. The Council of State likewise grants exequatur [acceptance of accreditation] to the consuls of other states. If, at the same time, we consider the fact that the chairman of the Council of State grants his approval to the accreditation of a representative of another state, establishes the procedure for accreditation and, having submitted letters of accreditation, carries on talks with the given ambassador on the merits of the case in a private audience, the accrediting act cannot be considered a mere act of official protocol. The chairman of the Council of State, moreover, meets with the diplomatic corps from time to time and he receives the ambassadors of foreign states and also Poland's foreign ambassadors. This makes it possible for him to influence Poland's bilateral relations with other states.

The nominating function of the Council of State lies in the Council of State's constitutional power to appoint and dismiss the chiefs of Polish diplomatic missions abroad and in part the chiefs of consular posts as well. In practice, however, the appointment or dismissal of the consular head is executed upon the recommendation of the minister of foreign affairs and submitted to the Council of State with the approval of the chairman of the Council of Ministers. The Council of State, however, passes the nominating resolution and its chairman signs the letters of accreditation.

The functions of the Council of State connected with foreign affairs likewise include making decisions concerning the state of war if the Sejm is not in session, and signing and ratifying peace treaties.

Re representative function of the Council of State has important significance for the shaping and implementation of Polish foreign policy. The chairman of the Council of State makes state visits abroad, and receives heads of foreign states, politicians at various levels, parliament members and ambassadors visiting Poland. The Council of State patronizes various international political, cultural and scientific undertakings and issues various types and pronouncements and letters. The contacts of the Council of State with the Polish community abroad are especially lively. In all of these undertakings, the Council of State, in the person of its chairman, represents the position of Poland regarding problems of international policy.

During visits of the chairman of the Council of State abroad and visits of foreign heads of state in Poland, important documents developing Poland's relations with foreign countries are signed. Some of these visits are of tremendous significance for international relations. Such was the case, for example, with the visit of French President Charles de Gaulle to Poland in September 1967, made at the invitation of then chairman of the Council of State, Edward Ochab.

Other powers of the Council of State linked with Polish foreign relations include such functions as the granting of distinctions and honorary titles to the citizens of other states, the Council of State's confirmation of the selection of foreign members of the Polish Academy of Sciences and the granting and withdrawal of Polish citizenship.

In accordance with Article 30 Item 3, the Council of State "oversees the conformity of the law with the constitution."[26] This role also concerns foreign policy and may manifest itself in a situation involving the violation of the conformity of the standards of Poland's foreign policy with the constitution. Thus far, such a situation has not occurred.[27]

Council of Ministers

In accordance with Article 41 Item 9 of the constitution, the Council of Ministers "exercises general management in the field of relations with other states."[28] The constitution does not contain any other provisions concerning the role of the Council of Ministers in foreign affairs.

Based on an analysis of the regulations of the constitution and other legal documents, it may be acknowledged that the activity of the Council of Ministers in the field of foreign policy may manifest itself as:

a) The management in its entirety of the implemented foreign policy of Poland and the coordination of its implementation by other organs;
b) the concluding and removl of the binding force of international agreements with reference to Poland;
c) the activity of organs other than ministers subordinated to the Council of Ministers.[29]

The exercise of "general management" in the field of Poland's relations with other states by the Council of Ministers lies in the management of all affairs from the sphere of foreign policy and of organs of the state administration operating in the sphere of foreign affairs. The Council of Ministers establishes the directions of operation and the tasks of foreign policy, and it designates funds for the major ministries of foreign service, including the Ministry of Foreign Affairs and the Ministry of Foreign Trade and the Maritime Economy. It should be kept in mind, of course, that the Council of Ministers is subject to the supreme organs of state authority, from which emanate certain limitations to the interpretation of principles concerning the general management of foreign affairs of the state.

As a supreme organ of the state administration, the Council of Ministers is an executive organ and, like every government, has vast powers in the field of foreign policy. The Council of Ministers thus provides ministries with the direction their work is to take and it coordinates their work. "The managerial-coordination functions of the Council of Ministers in the field of foreign policy emanate from the fact that

as a collegial organ which is relatively large it does not substantially execute tasks itself from the area of the administration of relations entering into the scope of foreign policy. This is primarily done by specialized organs--ministers who, under the terms of the appropriate regulations, have been entrusted with the particular essential aspects of administration and of foreign policy relations. It is with reference to these ministries that the government executes managerial-coordination functions in the area of foreign policy."[30] On 30 June 1969, the Council of Ministers passed Resolution No 113, concerning its operating procedure and the operating procedure of the Government Presidium. By providing ministries with the direction of their work is understood the preparation of a program, including a foreign-policy program. The government likewise implements this program. To this end it has specialized organs, material and human resouces and suitable information.

The powers of the Council of Ministers to establish the directions and the program of operation, which are then implemented by the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, are contained in a law dated 29 May 1974, concerning the office of the minister of foreign affairs. Of course, this does not reduce the role of the minister of foreign affairs exclusively to the implementation of policy. He likewise has the right to "prepare assumptions" of foreign policy, which he participates in shaping in this way.

By concluding and denouncing some international agreements, the Council of Ministers participates in the process of shaping Poland's relations with foreign countries. The Council of Ministers can denounce only those government resolutions which have not been ratified. In every country, and in Poland as well, the executive authority is authorized to conclude international agreements. The constitution makes no real pronouncement on this subject, but it is treated in a joint resolution of the Council of State and the Council of Ministers dated 28 December 1968. The Council of Ministers cannot conclude pacts of friendship, cooperation or mutual assistance or agreements of vital significance, in other words, state agreements.

"Thus it may be generally stated that the Council of Ministers is authorized to conclude international agreements which, in terms of contents, primarily concern goods exchange, economic cooperation, scientific-technical cooperation and the like, with the reservation that the provisions of these agreements not touch upon fields which are constitutionally stipulated by law or which are statutorily regulated (if they did touch upon these areas, then they would lose their effectiveness in domestic relations in this regard). The provisions of agreements concluded by the Council of Ministers, on the other hand, are fully effective in fields not stipulated by law and not regulated statutorily, and their effectiveness is not contingent upon the publication of the agreement in the DZIENNIK USTAW."[31]

Of course, the right to conclude international agreements is associated with the participation of the Council of Ministers in the preparation of these agreements, the preparation of instructions for negotiations and participation in negotiations, the drawing up for powers of attorney, the signing and initialing of documents and the like. While an international agreement binds the state, it does not have the character of an interstate agreement. Such agreements are not ratified by the Council of State, but they are confirmed by the Council of Ministers--although not all of them. The confirmation takes place in the form of a resolution of the Council of Ministers or by giving notice to the other signer of the confirming document.

Some writers demand that the PRL Constitution more clearly grant the government the right to conclude a definite category of international agreements and to withdraw their binding force with regard to Poland. It is postulated that the Sejm be informed regularly of the government's and the chairman of the Council of Minister's confirmation of international agreements and that the obligation be introduced of the premier's submission at subsequent Sejm sessions of information concerning international agreements confirmed by the Council of Ministers and the withdrawal of the binding force of such agreements with regard to Poland. Information concerning the confirmation of international agreements by the Council of Ministers or by its chairman should be published in the MONITOR POLSKI.[32]

The Council of Ministers participates in the shaping and implementation of foreign policy likewise through the participation of the premier, the deputy premiers and the members of the Council of Ministers in various types of activities connected with Poland's relations with foreign countries. The chairman of the Council of Ministers makes foreign visits, receives the chiefs of the governments of other States as well as representatives at various levels, conducts talks, confirms ministry agreements with other states and draws up the power of attorney for the signing of government agreements. The powers of the chairman of the Council of Ministers also include the appointment of delegates to participate in conferences of international organizations. The deputy chairman of the Council of Ministers represents Poland on the CEMA Executive Committee.

"The powers of the PRL Council of Ministers to act in the field of state foreign policy, although they have not been described exhaustively in the constitution or in any other pertinent legal document, are relatively broad. The effect of these powers is that, among state organs implementing foreign policy, the Council of Ministers fulfills the functions of manager and organizer of activities in the field of relations with other states. It is likewise due to these considerations that the highest responsibility for the proper implementation of Polish foreign policy rests with the Council of Ministers. Thereby increases the importance of the Sejm's control over its activity in the area of this policy, although it should not be forgotten that the activity of the Council of Ministers in the field of foreign policy is likewise subject to control by the party (recently by the Political Bureau in particular), that, above all, the party marks out the guidelines of Polish foreign policy and that for years not only the chairman of the Council of State and the chairman of the Council of Ministers, but also the first secretary of the PZPR Central Committee have entered the international forum in Poland's name. The above statements in no way disparage the need for the existence of the Sejm's control over the Government's foreign policy in PRL."[33]

Ministry of Foreign Affairs

The Ministry of Foreign Affairs plays a major role both in the shaping and implementation of Polish foreign policy, as well as in its coordination.

The tasks of the MSZ [Ministry of Foreign Affairs] are outlined in a law dated 29 May 1974, concerning the office of the minister of foreign affairs. The law grants the chief of Polish diplomacy the right to "prepare assumptions" of foreign policy. The minister of foreign affairs issues legal documents, makes personal recommendations and confirms instructions for the directors of diplomatic posts and for those chairing Polish delegations at more important international conferences.

One of the more important tasks of the ministry is to coordinate contacts of Poland with foreign countries. Many other ministries, offices and organizations in Poland maintain and develop contacts with foreign countries. Some of these, for example the Ministry of Foreign Trade and the Maritime Economy, even have their own foreign apparatus. In most Polish posts abroad, a trade department operates in addition to a diplomatic-consular department. The latter handles operations in the field of political, informational, cultural-scientific and consular relations, as well as matters of protocol. The trade department, on the other hand, includes the entire makeup of economic, financial-monetary and trade matters; this department is subject in principle to the ambassador.

The MSZ fulfills the role of coordinator likewise in the foreign relations of such ministries as the Ministry of National Defense, the Ministry of Internal Affairs, the Ministry of Science, Higher Education and Technology, the Ministry of Culture and Art, and the Ministry of Health. For example, cooperation between the MSZ and the Ministry of Science, Higher Education and Technology includes:

--The preparation of perspective drafts of scientific and technical cooperation with particular states and within the framework of international organizations;
--the preparation and implementation of international agreements and executory programs within its scope with foreign countries;
--the execution of joint analyses and evaluations of the state of implementation of particular agreements;
--the establishment of tasks for diplomatic representatives and consular offices in the area of this cooperation and control over the execution of these tasks.

Beyond its permanent tasks, the state authorities may order the MSZ to execute extraordinary tasks, such as, for example, the coordination in 1975 of all activities in Poland connected with the putting into effect of the CSCE Final Act, as well as the preparation of a program for the implementation of this document in Poland. The Council of Ministers, when implementing Sejm resolutions or the programs of PZPR congresses, may order the MSZ, for example, to implement priority directions of the development of the relations of Poland with selected countries. In executing this task, the MSZ makes use of the specialized apparatus of the diplomatic-consular service and the appropriate territorial, functional and problem organizational structures as well as the scientific base in the form of the Polish Institute for Foreign Affairs [PISM] and the body of scientific consultants.

It should be stressed that many initiatives taken by Poland in the international forum were born during discussions at the MSZ, including those which were taken by persons or institutions outside the ministry (by the first secretary of the PSPR Central Committee, the chairman of the Council of Ministers and documents of the PZPR, the Sejm and the Council of State).

It is clear that other organizations and political factors as well participate, in different ways, in the shaping and implementation of the foreign policy of our country. For example, the entire important sphere of international operation of social organizations (trade unions, youth organizations, and women's, professional and scientific organizations and the like) as well as their influence on the shape of state foreign policy lies outside of the scope of the current present study. The number and the variety of the factors shaping Polish foreign policy are an added point speaking in behalf of the urgency of need for complete, comprehensive research into their role and mechanism of operation.

FOOTNOTES

1. "Konstytucja i podstawowe akty ustawodawcze Polskiej Rzeczypospolitey Ludowej" [The Constitution and Fundamental Legislative Documents of the Polish People's Republic], Warsaw, 1978, p 33.

2. W. Sokolewicz, "Konstytucja PRL po zmianach z 1976 roku" [The PRL Constitution Following 1976 Changes], Warsaw, 1978, p. 83.

3. A. Gwizdz, "The Role of the Sejm in Shaping Relations of the Polish People's Republic with Foreign Countries," a paper presented at a conference organized by the Polish Academy of Sciences [PAN] Institute on the State and the Law on 2-3 October 1980.

4. W. Morawiecki, "The Constitutional Bases of International Relations of the Polish People's Republic," PANSTWO I PRAWO, 1975, No 4, pp 25-26.

5. "Konstytucja i podstawowe akty ustrojowe Polskiej Rzeczpospolitej Ludowej" The Constitution and Basic System of Documents of the Polish People's Republic (...), p 34.

6. The Constitution of the Polish People's Republic. For text, see Sokolewicz, op. cit.

7. W. Skrzydlo, "The Leading Role of the PZPR and Its Expression in the PRL Constitution," PANSTWO I PRAWO, 1976, No 4, p 14.

8. M. Rybicki, "The Party and State Organs," KULTURA, 14 December 1980.

9. "VIII Zjazd Polskiej Zjednoczonej Partii Robotniczej, 11-15 lutego 1980. Podstawowe dokumenty and i materialy" [Eighth Congress of the Polish United Workers Party, 11-15 February 1980. Basic Documents and Materials], Warsaw 1980, pp 219-226.

10. In the Polish literature, the subject of the role of the PSPR as an institution shaping Polish foreign policy has thus far not received scholarly treatment. This subject was undertaken by W. Lamentowicz, "The Role of the PZPR in the Management of PRL Relations with Foreign Countries" (a paper presented at a conference organized by the PAN Institute on the State and the Law in Warsaw on 2-3 October 1980.

11. M. Rybicki, "The Role of the Sejm in Shaping Polish Foreign Policy," SPRAWY MIEDZYNARODOWE, 1979, No 7-8, p 23.

12. A. Gwizdz, op. cit.

13. Rybicki, "The Role of the Sejm...," p. 31.

14. A. Gwizdz, "Parliamentary Control over Foreign Policy," SPRAWY MIEDZYNARODOWE, 1967, No 7-8, p. 131.

15. See TRYBUNA LUDU, 20-21 December 1980.

16. A. Burda, "Parliament of the Polish People's Republic," Warsaw, 1978, p. 170-175.

17. M. Rybicki, "The Role of the Sejm...," p. 36.

18. S. Gebert, "Functions of the Council of State Regarding Relations of the Polish People's Republic with Foreign Countries," a paper presented at a conference organized by the PAN Institute on the State and the Law in Warsaw on 2-3 October 1980.

19. Ibid.

20. See R. Bierzanek, "With What Should the Sejm Engage Itself in the New Term," PRAWO I ZYCIE, 1957, No 3; S. Rozmaryn, "What Changes Should Be Introduced Into the RPL Constitution," TRYBUNA LUDU, 23 March 1957.

21. M. Rybicki, "The Role of the Sejm...," p. 28.

22. A. Gwizdz, "Parliamentary Control...," p. 124.

23. M. Rybicki, "The Role of the Sejm...," p. 28.

24. A. Gwizdz, "The Role of the Sejm...," p. 6.

25. A. Gwizdz, "Parliamentary Control...," p. 124.

26. "Konstytucja i podstawowe akty ustorjowe...," p. 39.

27. S. Gebert, "The Council of State's Overseeing of the Conformity of the Law With the Constitution," PRAWO I ZYCIE, 1980, No 1, pp. 26-41.

28. Ibid., p. 42.

29. J. Kucinski, "The PRL Council of Ministers As An Organ Exercising General Management in the Field of Relations with Other States," PRAWO I ZYCIE, 1974, No 11, p. 68.

30. Ibid., p. (69 ?).

31. Ibid., p. (73 ?).

32. Ibid., p. 75.

33. Ibid., p. 78.

8536
CSO: 2600/287

RECRUITMENT FOR MILITARY ACADEMIES, OFFICERS' SCHOOLS ANNOUNCED

Warsaw ZOLNIERZ WOLNOSCI in Polish 25 Jan 82 pp 1,7

[Communique from the Ministry of National Defense on the recruitment of candidates for military academies and officers' schools]

[Text] The Ministry of National Defense announces the volunteer recruitment of candidates for the following military academies and officers' schools:

- the Jaroslaw Dabrowski Technical Military Academy in Warsaw;
- the Maj. Gen. Boleslaw Szarecki Medical Military Academy in Lodz;
- the Westerplatte Heroes Higher Naval School in Gdynia;
- the Tadeusz Kosciuszko Higher Officers' School of the Mechanized Troops in Wroclaw;
- the Stefan Czarniecki Higher Officers' School of the Tank Troops in Poznan;
- the Gen. Jozef Bem Higher Officers' School of the Rocket and Artillery Troops in Torun;
- the Jan Krasicki Higher Air Force Officers' School in Deblin;
- the Lt. Mieczyslaw Kalinowski Higher Officers' School of the Antiaircraft Troops in Koszalin;
- the Gen. Jakub Jasinski Higher Officers' School of the Engineering Troops in Wroclaw;
- the Col. Boleslaw Kowalski "Ryszard" Higher Officers' School of the Signal Troops in Zegrz near Warsaw;
- the Capt. Sylwestr Bartosik Higher Radiotechnical Officers' School in Jelena Gora;
- the Stanislaw Ziaja Higher Officers' School of the Chemical Troops in Krakow;
- the Gen. Aleksandr Waszkiewicz Higher Motor Transport Officers' School in Pila;
- the Marian Buczek Higher Officers' School of the Quartermaster Services in Poznan.

The studies last 5 years in the Technical Military Academy, 6 [illegible] the Medical Military Academy in the medical program and 5 years in the den[illegible] pharmaceutical programs, 4.5 years in the Naval School, and 4 years in the of[illegible]ers' schools.

Graduates of the military academies and officers' schools are promoted to the rank of 2nd Lt. in the Polish Army and receive a diploma for completing higher studies and a master's degree in engineering, medicine, dentistry, pharmacy, [and the rank of] engineer officer in the corresponding military speciality.

Furthermore, in eight military schools (WSMW [Higher Naval School], WSOWZ [Higher Mechanized Troop Officers School], WSOWP [Higher Tank Troop Officers School], WOSL [Higher Air Force Officers School], WSOWRiA [Higher Rocket Troop and Artillery School], WSOWOPl [Higher Antiaircraft Defense Officers School], WSOWI [Higher Engineer Officers School], and WSOWL [Higher Signal Officers School]), studies in a military-political program are being conducted. Graduates of this program of studies will receive a diploma for the completion of higher studies in the area of socio-political sciences.

Candidates for military academies and higher officers' schools are required to meet the following conditions:

- Polish citizenship;
- appropriate moral and political values;
- fitness for military service in the capacity of a candidate professional soldier, confirmed by a statement from the proper military medical commission;
- single status;
- under 24 years of age, with the exception of WAM [Military Medical Academy], which requires that candidates be under 22 years of age.

An additional condition for acceptance into the Higher Naval School and the Higher Air Force Officers School is possession by the candidates of a suitable degree of physical fitness, confirmed by the specialist military medical commissions (of the navy and the air force).

Candidates applying for acceptance into one of the above-mentioned schools are to submit application forms to the commanders of the schools selected, through the Military Recruiting Station corresponding to their place of residence, while candidates from the military are to apply through official channels. Blank application forms can be obtained at the Military Recruiting Stations or the headquarters of military units.

The following should be attached to the application form:

- an extract from the birth certificate and certification of Polish citizenship, in the event that the candidate does not yet have an identity card;
- a school certificate (in the original) confirming possession of the required level of education. Students in the last class of secondary school can present the appropriate certificate confirming attendance of this class, in this case immediately after receiving it;
- recommendations or evaluations from the school administration, a social or political organization, or an employer;
- two 3.5 by 4.5 centimeter photographs.

The deadline for submitting the application forms together with the documents expires on 5 May for WSMW, 20 May for WAT and WAM, 10 May for WOSL, and 20 May 1982 for the remaining higher officers schools.

The candidates are obliged to pass a competitive entrance examination in the secondary school area.

The entrance examinations and physical fitness test, and the evaluation interviews, will take place at WSMW from 17 to 28 June, at WAT and WAM from 1 to 8 August, at WOSL from 21 to 30 June, and at the remaining higher officers schools from 1 to 8 July 1982.

Psychological examinations of the candidates will be conducted at the Military Psychology Institutions of the military districts and the Psychological Laboratories of the Educational-Professional Clinics of the Superintendents of Education and Training, at the established times.

More precise information will be provided to interested candidates by the Military Recruitment Stations, unit headquarters, and the military school commands. This information may also be found in directories for candidates for military professional schools and candidates for higher civilian schools.

9909
CSO: 2600/261

EDUCATION AND UPBRINGING MILITARY COMMISSIONER INTERVIEWED

Warsaw ZOLNIERZ POLSKI in Polish 10 Jan 82 pp 2, 7

[Interview with Maj Gen Zygmunt Huszcza, military commissioner and under secretary of the Ministry of Education and Upbringing, by Jacek Lutomski: "Fulfill Your Obligations Toward Your Homeland and the Young Generation..."; date and place not specified]

[Text] The introduction of martial law contributed in a substantial way to the transformation of several areas of our life, to different paths, to other rules of conduct. These events have not spared the school system or--expressing it more broadly--the realization of the whole instructive and educational process among the young people. The external manifestation of this was an earlier start of winter school vacations. Wishing to obtain more detailed information on the functioning of education and upbringing, we asked Maj Gen Zygmunt Huszcza, military commissioner of the Ministry of Education and Upbringing [MOiW] and the under secretary of this ministry, to grant us an interview.

"ZOLNIERZ POLSKI": We intend to talk about the situation under the martial law conditions, but by necessity, it is indispensable--even in an abridged form--to present the situation in the Ministry of Education and Upbringing before 13 December 1981.

Maj Gen Zygmunt Huszcza: The situation in our schools was getting so much more dangerous since illegal political organizations have developed a wide activity among the instructive school cadres. Under the pretext of official activity of the Solidarity trade union, they drew a number of disoriented young people into hostile activity as well.

School strikes and particularly the strikes in Lublin and in the whole middle-eastern region were a clear example of attempts to take advantage of young people for antistate action through teachers' organizations of Solidarity. We must emphasize with sorrow that parents were not admitted into the striking schools but activists from all kinds of illegal organizations were admitted and there they carried on agitator's activities.

"ZP": How did this situation change after the introduction of martial law?

Maj Gen Zygmunt Huszcza: Immediately after the proclamation of martial law we pondered the conditions in schools and in educational institutions. After a short analysis of the situation we decided to interrupt instruction in all types of schools by an earlier start of winter school vacations. At the same time we decided to continue the protective and educational activity in kindergartens, nurseries and orphanages, special centers and institutions, emergency protective and educational institutions and elementary school day-rooms. Also we decided to continue such activity for young people whose parents are professionally engaged and gave consent for their children to remain at school.

"ZP": What were the motives of this decision?

Maj Gen Zygmunt Huszcza: There were a number of reasons, but the most important one was concern over the safety of young people in case of possible disturbances provoked by hostile elements. Take into consideration that these are young people, curiosity is their natural trait: Here is a military transporter, there is a tank. Such circumstances could easily end in tragedies. Other reasons resulted from the fact that certain school superintendents' offices reported already on 13 December some difficulties with the proper organization of children's and young people's transportation. This fact together with intensification of the winter weather could create further problems. We also received signals about troubles with school heating. We were anxious to protect the youth from the influence of extreme Solidarity groups, which were active in some schools, and also to prevent the dissemination of objectionable elements of instruction.

"ZP": This explains why the winter vacations for children and young people have been advanced. What was the further action of the ministry in this exceptional situation?

Maj Gen Zygmunt Huszcza: A proper explanatory action was undertaken with active participation of military commissioners from all the elements, from the ministry to the offices of school superintendents. This action spelled out, among others, the specific duties and authorities of school directors and those of other educational institutions for the duration of martial law, work discipline of all MOiW employees, the specific function of teachers in informing and explaining to the children and young people the necessity of introducing martial law as well as the necessity of concentrating all efforts on the creation of proper conditions to carry out the instructive and educational tasks under a changed situation.

"ZP": As well known, on 4 January of the current year, schools started again their educational and upbringing tasks. On what principles did they start?

Maj Gen Zygmunt Huszcza: The Ministry of Education and Upbringing worked out the "Guiding Principles on Organization of Work in Schools and Other Educational Institutions Under Martial Law." Not even waiting until this document had reached all interested parties, the ministry organized a TV conference with the participation of all MOiW school superintendents, before the holidays started. Officers from the military operational group, which is active at MOiW, participated in the elaboration of this important document and also in the realization of other activities undertaken by the ministry.

"ZP": How far-reaching are the changes in the educational and upbringing process introduced by the "Guiding Principles"?

Maj Gen Zygmunt Huszcza: In the area of subject contents, these changes will be small. The school director will have the right to introduce appropriate program corrections in cases deserving special consideration, for example, those resulting from the necessity to reduce the elements of a given subject.

On the other hand, these changes will enrich the educational process by elements serving the formation of socially useful, civic and national defense attitudes, particularly in the final period.

Particularly, the broadened disciplinary authority of directors, enabling them to expect from instructors, educational personnel and all students a strict performance of tasks and duties imposed by the martial law, will have a bearing on the level of tasks accomplished by all schools and centers.

All this action, undertaken by the ministry, will assure the proper preparation of schools and institutions for the realization of basic instructive upbringing and protective tasks in this complicated situation. It will depend, first of all, on the attitude of our dedicated teachers.

"ZP": Undoubtedly, the very basic problem is the matter of teachers.

Maj Gen Zygmunt Huszcza: I am convinced that our teachers will understand in depth the words of Army Gen W. Jaruzelski--"I appeal to you, teachers...on this grave turning point in our history let the reason prevail over excited emotions, the intellectual interpretation over deceptive myths"--and will do all in order to continue socialistic revival of our homeland.

"ZP": Citizen General, what specific tasks are facing the teachers under martial law?

Maj Gen Zygmunt Huszcza: While it might not exhaust the subject entirely, I will try my best to formulate the subject in a few points of action, to which the teachers are bound:

First, repeatedly explaining to all students the martial law substance and the necessity of its introduction; the social and economic changes taking place as result of martial law, and the proper interpretation of these changes in accordance with the spirit and the letter of the Council of State decree; molding young peoples' loyalty toward the decisions and actions of the Military Council for National Salvation.

Second, building patriotic feelings in children and young people and particularly love for the homeland, the People's Poland and the Polish nation, as well as readiness to sacrifice all their might for it. This should find its expression in studious learning, attaining best possible results and discipline, as well as conscious execution of student's duties, plus volunteering for socially useful work.

Third, developing proper civic attitudes, honest relation to work, awareness of evil in all its forms and also nonstop readiness to carry out duties toward the state as well as helping the weak.

Fourth, intensifying the Polish-Soviet friendship and brotherhood-in-arms, which has been recently attacked with particular strength and implacability by enemy forces, aiming at the overthrow of the socialist system.

Fifth, enlisting all teachers and young people in active work, based on the decisions of the Military Council for National Salvation and in continuation of socialist renewal of our country.

"ZP": These are not easy tasks, the more so if we add to them today's difficult conditions. In what way does the ministry intend to help the teachers?

Maj Gen Zygmunt Huszcza: This aim will be served by the whole system of teachers' betterment achieved so far, but a special role will be fulfilled by objective teachers' conferences, particularly in the humanities and in defense training.

The employees of the Institute for Teachers' Education and its regional departments will assure methodical help to teachers, to enable them to explain to children and young people our country's difficult situation, which nonetheless holds a certain basis for optimism.

We must carry out the teaching programs. Recently these have been enriched by new contents, which so far have not been sufficiently expounded in obligatory programs. Among them are, for example, such subjects and slogans as economic relations with socialistic countries, paths to Poland's independence, the role of Polish military forces in the history of the nation, etc.

We will help teachers, as well as students, by supplying them with proper studies and publications.

"ZP": In their educational work with the young generation, schools have already tested many forms well. Will these forms be preserved?

Maj Gen Zygmunt Huszcza: Of course, and here I would like to mention especially the continuity of the previously applied actions in forming proper patriotic attitudes of the young generation. A particular role falls here on the young peoples' organizations, the activities of which ought to be directed and supervised by the most experienced and ideologically committed teachers. Patronages of military units over schools ought to be developed; help in the ideological training and upbringing by professional military cadres should be given. It is necessary to maintain and to continue existing contacts between schools and armed forces circles. It is necessary to utilize these already tested forms, which under martial law acquire particular importance. These are schoolrooms with national memorabilia and also young peoples' care of places of national significance.

"ZP": Are there any changes in the very school structure foreseen?

Maj Gen Zygmunt Huszcza: We take under consideration also such conditions. We are considering the advisability and possibility of helping school directors in organizing educational work with the young people by appointing directors' deputies for matters of patriotic and defense education. Teachers of the Defense Training Corps could be appointed to take care of these functions and, in particular, specially selected professional and reserve officers. The preparation for this responsible task could be carried on in short-term courses at military schools.

"ZP": Citizen General, in conclusion of our interview, could you tell us a few words about your own role as military commissioner at the Ministry of Education and Upbringing.

Maj Gen Zygmunt Huszcza: Together with the operational group we are engaged in three essential tasks. The first is proper discipline and sense of duty. The second is inspiration to undertake our own solutions according to the time in which we live. The last task is the proper disposition of means and materials.

"ZP": Thank you for the interview.

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MINISTER DISCUSSES HEALTH CARE, MEDICAL RESEARCH PRIORITIES

Bucharest ERA SOCIALISTA in Romanian No 24, 20 Dec 81 pp 24-27

/Article by Eugen Proca, minister of health: "Health Protection Measures and Medical Research Priorities"/

/Text/ In connection with current socioeconomic development, the priority efforts of Romanian medicine are on maintaining and strengthening all citizens' physical and mental health and on extending the active period and vigorous development of the individual and the entire people. These aims are basic to medicine's emphasis upon in depth knowledge of the functional processes of the human organism and upon wide scale application of the most important advances of biology, and they determine the basic task of medical activity, namely study of the individual's physiological requirements in order to establish the most rational principles of life and work in accordance with Romania's particular environmental and social conditions. The RCP considers health protection a matter of state policy. The Directive-Program for Scientific Research approved by the 12th RCP Congress stipulates that the main objectives of health protection shall be preventing diseases, strengthening health, better use of Romania's material and manpower potential, and further improvement of the workers' general welfare. In speaking of the development of health protection under socialism, it must be borne in mind that it began with the quite precarious state of health in Romania in the prewar period and it is well-known that in that period Romania was one of the European countries with the poorest material resources for the medical-health sector and the worst main indicators of the state of health and the rates of illness and death. Accordingly an intensive effort was made under party leadership to keep increasing and improving the material resources and personnel of health protection in keeping with the general rate of Romania's socioeconomic development. The great efforts made in that direction are evidenced by the whole network of health units that has been extended and diversified throughout the entire nation, giving all citizens increasingly wide access to medical care. Development of the material resources for health protection and professional improvement of the workers in the health sector, as well as the high technical level of the medical services, permit transition to a new quality in this activity and have made it possible to implement general programs concerning the main health problems, while organizational measures are being adopted to make medical care more accessible to the public, to develop preventive activity, and to enhance the effectiveness of the facilities for treatment and recovery of health. The evolution of the main indicators of the state of the public's health shows a steadily rising curve. The decline of the general death rate to one-half that of 1938 is particularly striking, and the decrease in deaths of children in

the first year of life, which are 6 times less frequent today than in the prewar period, is also very impressive. Contagious diseases, which once were in a large proportion of the incidences of disease, have been largely eliminated (malaria, typhus, recurrent fever, poliomyelitis, diphtheria, tetanus, typhoid fever etc.) or are about to be. Thanks to the public's higher material and cultural living standard, tuberculosis has ceased to be widespread among the masses. It is also significant that the average lifetime in Romania has been lengthened from 42 years, as it was before World War II, to about 70 years at the present time. In general chronic, degenerative diseases (cardiovascular, nutritional et al.) predominate in the disease structure today as they do in all developed countries.

Improvement of Medical Care

The strategy of Romania's social development in the present and following decades is highly receptive to the advances of the scientific-technical revolution, so that in medicine as well, scientific research and its practical application are to be emphasized in connection with improvement of health protection as a whole and with in-depth treatment of the problems in that field that are peculiar to Romania.

Preventive medicine, reinforced by better clinical care in dispensaries and polyclinics, most effective use of hospital facilities, and improvement of specialized personnel, is of primary importance in medical care as a whole, and accordingly an increasingly large volume of preventive efforts are included in general medical care in addition to the so-called primary measures. To this end methods are being developed to detect and prevent illnesses, to protect mothers and infants, to determine the harmful factors in the living or working environment, and to promote proper hygienic conditions in the family and community.

The dispensaries at enterprises, industrial districts and big worksites will also maintain medical surveillance of the working conditions in the communities and make recommendations to eliminate the risk factors, to prevent occupational diseases, and to enhance the working capacity of personnel employed in production. And in some cities and communes general medical care is now concentrated in combined dispensaries employing more physicians for adults and children and open to the public throughout the whole day, resulting in better use of the medical work force and the existing facilities. In this way general medical care will make a greater contribution to improvement of the demographic and disease indicators.

Specialized clinical medical care has an important part to play in the health protection system. It is given in the consulting rooms in the dispensary-polyclinics intended for medical attention when the nature and development of certain diseases require a treatment beyond the technical possibilities of the general medical dispensary. Organization of consultations among specialists and use of combined therapeutic methods have made it possible to coordinate these specialized consulting rooms with the respective hospital sections functionally and also to integrate clinical care with hospital care. It is accordingly the function of the dispensary-polyclinics to treat more serious diseases that nevertheless do not absolutely require hospitalization.

As for hospital care, construction of a large number of hospital complexes, their technical-material equipment and staffing with specialized personnel have made some highly technical treatments possible in the county seats, industrial centers and a great many cities and municipalities. In the last few years every county has

developed new facilities for hospitalization wherein a wide range of ailments are investigated and treated, in order to secure a regionally balanced development of the reserve of beds.

Further reinforcement of some hospitals in the university centers and other big urban centers is an objective of major importance, so that they can solve all problems of hospital care in the intercounty areas assigned to them. To this end clinical sections or health units with specialized functions alone have been organized to treat ailments which by their nature and seriousness require special equipment and highly trained personnel.

Many specialized clinics and units in Romania are now using a modern method based on highly technical and effective therapeutic methods and investigations, and cases are being treated more and more frequently that had to be sent abroad for treatment not long ago. The range of surgical operations has been extended every year, and many specialized services are on a par with those in developed western countries in their complexity.

Medicine for the Healthy

The effect of living and working conditions upon health and adjustment of the organism to the demands of contemporary civilization is a highly important problem in medical research work as a whole. The investigations made on this subject concern the implications of the risk factors in the environment, and perfected techniques and uniform working methods are used to study them. The results of these studies made it possible to determine the maximum permissible concentration of pollutants or groups of pollutants in the air, water, soil and foods, and they were made primarily in the more exposed centers and areas like Valea Jiului and Ialnita, in the Danube, Mures and Siret basins, on the Black Sea coast, and in some rivers and reservoir lakes. Studies were also made of noise pollution in industrial environments and densely populated areas, of biological pollution of the soil and foods, and of radioactive and pesticide pollution. The purport of studies of this kind led to determination of the general characteristics of the environment and the extent of their effect upon the relationship of the environment to the organism and the community.

And so alongside the traditional efforts of medicine on behalf of the sick, a new emphasis is increasingly evident today upon determining the relationship of man to his environment under the conditions of present and future social development. We refer in particular to medicine for the healthy and to promotion of a wide range of practical applications in order to secure the best possible state of public health.

The need of a greater contribution on the part of medical research to development of health protection before any morphofunctional or psychosomatic disturbance sets in is therefore just as urgent and necessary today as greater resources for combatting any external factors that may have bad effects upon the psychophysiological balance of the organism.

Medical research to protect the healthy and widely promote medicine for metabolically unimpaired organisms helps considerably to supplement the series of measures to protect and strengthen public health. But this important aspect of medical care requires extensive cooperation with other sectors, since its results depend particularly upon the interdisciplinary and integrated contribution of several fields, primarily sociology, psychology and demography as well as economics, mathematics and chemistry. That is the only way to secure highly effective application of the concept

Intensified health education of the public and promotion among the working masses of a proper conception of the regime of living and working, of activity and rest, and of hygiene and diet are also emerging as primary objectives in close connection with the development of medicine for the healthy. These are all basic constituent elements of maintenance of every human organism within the bounds of morphofunctional normality. Many experimental, epidemiological and clinical studies will demonstrate not only the action of harmful environmental factors but also the fact that measures can be determined to prevent and check the organism's pathological reactions to them. And so the new working methods of medicine for the healthy are beginning to be applied in an increasingly precise way and with scientific substantiation of the proposals for sanitizing the environment in order to eliminate or diminish the disease risks.

The current five-year plan places a medical research priority on evaluating the risk factors in the rural centers through regular hygienic investigation of agricultural work. The particular conditions in these centers, depending on the distinctive features of the area, climate, relief, local traditions and customs, way of life and culture and all intensified by agricultural mechanization, generally bring about a certain structure of the agricultural workers' state of health, with various implications for labor safety and ergonomic activity and with new criteria for vocational guidance in agroindustrial activity.

A number of applied studies in normal and pathological physiology bring out the effect of the dietary factor upon the state of health. The studies of large population groups have established the incidence and prevalence of metabolic and nutritional diseases (among which diabetes, obesity and dyslipidemias assume proportions that are beginning to be alarming) among the risk factors for the health and functional capacity of the organism in many cases.

In the large cities especially the proportion of these diseases in the chronic disease structure is becoming particularly significant largely because of failure to correlate the caloric intake with the other elements of active existence in the urbanized environment, with the many facilities that greatly detract from the good effect of regular daily exercise, and with the formation of eating habits unsuited to the characteristics of present-day life.

The medical studies made throughout Romania confirm the increased frequency of metabolic disturbances, with some tendency to affect even the younger age groups. Sugar diabetes is also on the increase, as the specialists at the Bucharest Center for Nutrition and Metabolic Diseases maintain that the incidence of that disease practically doubles every 12-15 years. Such a trend can have quite unfavorable effects upon the state of public health in view of the particularly high susceptibility of diabetics and, in general, of sufferers from obesity or dyslipidemias to the onset of diseases of other systems, especially those of the heart and blood vessels. That is why the findings of the researchers on this subject culminated in the preparation of two long-term health programs, namely the "National Long-Term Program to Prevent and Control Sugar Diabetes" and the "National Program for Rational Nutrition of the Population. Based on objective necessities, both programs are to set courses of action to detect and treat chronic metabolic diseases, accompained by extensive and effective measures to prevent them.

Preparation of scientific standards of nutrition according to categories of the population, arrangements for proper nutrition of children and of pregnant women or those of child-bearing age, production of foodstuffs with a scientifically dosed nutritive

value, and corresponding regular education of the public via all media can make it possible to solve this great problem confronting medical and social care as well as basic biologic and medical research, namely that of rational and effective nutrition.

Long-Range Strategy of Health Protection

The intensive and massive flow of information we have been receiving for several years on the subject of health protection enables us not only to determine in depth (by the standards of both horizontal and vertical investigation) the prevalence and evolution of the infectious-contagious diseases as well as the noncontagious ones but also to determine trends and make forecasts as accurately as necessary to evaluate the criteria of technical-professional development in Romanian medicine and especially to set the main guidelines for future activity. Based upon comprehensive studies and operational investigations, the health protection strategy proceeds from Romania's own conditions and also takes account of the particular characteristics of the general state of health, being organically integrated in the general program for socioeconomic development.

Considering the main factors involved in the demographic analysis and the studies of the disease structure as well as the causes of deaths, it can be said that the picture of the state of public health in Romania and the evolution of some of the indicators show many resemblances to the neighboring and other European countries. And naturally some differences and distinctive features appear because of the nature and conditions of each state. The present situation is characterized by a regular progressive reduction of the infectious diseases and, in general, of the acute ailments (true of most countries) and an increasing proportion of the chronic and degenerative diseases especially characteristic of the adult groups, so that the Romanian health protection strategy is comparable to that of the developed countries. It has become objectively necessary to shift the emphasis from strictly curative medicine, induced by acute pathology, to prevention of the chronic diseases and limiting the risks of their onset.

This made it clear that long-term programs must be devised to prevent and check the ailments in high proportion in the state of public health, such as the cardiovascular diseases, neoplasias, and metabolic and nutritional diseases. Note that in the developed countries too the disease and death rates are strongly characterized by the same groups of diseases.

We have stressed the declining incidence of infectious diseases that has been evident in the last decade because Romanian medical research has been an important link in the chain of measures that have reduced those ailments. The rapid change in living and working conditions, accompanied by the growing number of antibiotics and development of new vaccines to prevent and check the bacterial maladies, has led to the quite favorable evolution of those diseases. Study of some particular aspects of the pathogenesis of bacteria under the present conditions of the microbic ecological system and expansion of infectious chemotherapy have been the main weapons in the fight against epidemics in Romania.

Medical research has also revealed to us the ramifications of the situation in other fields of infectious pathology, especially viral pathology. Circulation of certain viruses is still causing some incidences of viroses in Romania, and their prevention and control are on the agenda of the health protection organs. We also wish to point out that all necessary measures have been taken on the national level to eliminate

the risk of epidemics of some forms of tropical pathology, possible because of the many contacts with African and Asian countries, and we are pleased to note that thanks to these measures no such diseases have been recorded in Romania.

Priority Aims of Medical Research.

Under the new structures of the state of health the trends and aims of medical research are toward development of efforts to protect the human organism and communities, and they emphasize intensified knowledge of the biological aspects of adjustment to modern life. The founding of the Academy of Medical Sciences in 1969, as a new organizational form for planning and coordinating medical research work, essentially contributed to elimination of the old concepts in research because its content has been consistently aimed at solving the current and most important problems of health protection.

Moreover medical research today is a basic component of the process of strengtgening public health and consequently socioeconomic progress itself. If medicine is to be adjusted to the requirements and needs of prevention, diagnosis and treatment imposed by the new advances of science and technology, the internal forces of medical research must make a greater contribution to the diversification and effectiveness of drugs and medical equipment, to development of new therapeutic agents through use of domestic resources especially, and to encouragement and intensive study of some therapeutic methods of traditional medicine. Meanwhile the means have been provided and a successful start has been made for application of some highly technical and productive modern methods such as use of high power, ultrasonics and lasers and transplants of human organs and tissues, which is after all an old and yet always current aim of medicine.

Diversified production of drugs based on domestic raw materials, especially medicinal plants, ranks high among the priorities of medical research. To this end it is planned to generalize the very valuable results of the 17 galenic laboratories under the county pharmaceutical offices, which have successfully processed and manufactured a varied range of products based on local resources.

But we must say that medical research has not kept up with the urgent demand for cultivation, development and better use of national resources, including the natural curative elements as well as therapeutic flora. The valuable traditions in the field of balneophysical therapy must be developed. Moreover in most countries the vast richness of international balneology is attracting large collectives of specialists to scientific research on the natural curative elements. In Romania the research methods in this field are comprehensive, being based on hydrogeologic study of various areas and physical-chemical, biologic and microbiologic analyses of the natural curative elements and culminating in research on their effects upon the human organism. In this way the active and effective mechanisms of the climate and mineral waters in external and internal cures were successfully revealed, as well as those of the therapeutic muds and gases. But we have extensive possibilities that are still inadequately exploited. Romania's health resorts, traditionally regarded by many citizens as places of rest and recreation, must acquire a new validity and become elements of great medical-social significance in maintaining, restoring and consolidating the state of health by virtue of their therapeutic qualities.

As for Romanian drugs of vegetal origin, despite the progress made in obtaining some synthetic preparations Romania's abundant resources are still little used for medicine. Note that this source of drugs is increasingly used throughout the world and

constitutes an important therapeutic element with a pronounced modern character, since the active principles in medicinal plants are easily tolerated by the organism and cause infinitely less negative reactions than the chemical-pharmaceutical substances. It was this biological axiom that led us to outline the principles that will be basic to the "Improved Research Program To Exploit Medicinal and Aromatic Plants in 1981-1985." By completing the classification of the medicinal plants in the domestic flora and by exploiting the regions rich in medicinal species, we shall obtain new pharmacologically active substances and more fully meet the domestic requirement for drugs of vegetal origin.

The October 1981 session of the Academy of Medical Sciences scientifically treated the problems of development of naturistic medicine and of intensive use of domestic resources and natural curative elements employed by the people from ancient times. By way of developing traditional therapeutic methods, which were developed over the years in many countries with old traditions in the field of medicine, we shall expand the resources for treatment by acupuncture, homeopathy, medical gymnastics, Yoga methods etc., which will have highly effective curative or preventive effects when applied with medical discrimination and on a correctly substantiated physiological basis.

Protection and care of mothers and children are among the important priorities of Romanian science and medicine. Improvement of the product of conception requires studies of the couples' biologic potential and of the series of preventive measures to limit the hazards of pregnancy. Methodologies are being studied on the basis of which premarital counseling and prenatal consultations are to be generalized throughout Romania. The particular reactions of pregnant women are also being studied, with active supervision of the future mothers in communities organized in rural areas as well. In the field of protection and development of children's health, the rate of their somatopsychic development is checked and evaluated through the medical-health network while somatically and neuropsychically stimulating programs are devised for each age group in order to prevent developmental handicaps.

Active surveillance and medical-health care of working personnel are also planned as regular efforts, with analysis of the evolution of incidences of disease, temporary incapacities for work, occupational diseases, and functional deficiencies requiring complex means of medical recovery. On the basis of the evolution of the general indices of disease, we are convinced that we have a good network of health institutions at the work places and a proper orientation of medical personnel in the performance of their functions and in application of the scientific facilities for medical control and surveillance of the various categories of workers. Moreover the curve of the disease indicators in industry places Romania among the countries with good results, even in comparison with countries with a wealth of tradition and experience in labor medicine.

Rationalization of medical care as a whole, scientific planning of health-protection programs, and development of the efficiency and effectiveness of health institutions are important fields of contemporary medicine. In connection with those efforts, persevering action must be taken to apply computers and data processing to research and also to medical care, management of health units, and evaluation of their activity, in order to provide more efficient medical services at lower and lower cost.

The effort to humanize medical-health care to the greatest extent and in all respects is a consideration of growing importance in medical research and practice. To this

end it is necessary to minimize "technicization" of the medical act, while individualizing and differentiating medical behavior according to individual reactions, the particular clinical picture, the psychological and psychosocial whole and the biological profile of each individual patient. Therefore not only professional competence and discipline are required of everyone dedicated to the medical profession, but also great understanding, warmth, respect for the sufferer, and a worthy attitude of high morality, high standards for oneself and others, and promotion of the principles of Hippocratic ethics under all circumstances.

5186
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PRESENT-DAY EVOLUTION OF SOCIAL STRUCTURE

Bucharest ERA SOCIALISTA in Romanian No 24, 20 Dec 81 pp 28-30

/Article by Univ Reader Dr Stana Buzatu: "Evolution of Romania's Social Structure in the Present Stage"/

/Text/ The problems of the social and class structure are central to the scientific theory of society, to substantiation of social-historical action by the criteria of knowledge and purposeful use of the laws governing social development, and to the RCP policy of building the new order.

Revolutionary Changes in Romania's Social Structure

Romania's social and class structure underwent radical changes in the years of revolution and socialist construction. Thanks to the victory of socialism, generalization of socialist production relations based on state and cooperative ownership, and construction of the uniform socialist economy, the oppressing classes and exploitation of man by man were eliminated and relations were established of collaboration and friendly mutual aid between the classes and categories composing Romanian society. Acquisition of political power, transfer of the national wealth to the people's control, and the broad processes of social reorganization on a socialist basis are the main elements of the revolutionary reforms in the status and roles of the social classes and categories.

The working class was transformed into a new classed freed from exploitation, holding economic and political power together with the other workers and becoming the main social force of society. Numerical gains were accompanied by radical qualitative changes, since its professional, techical-scientific, cultural and political levels were more and more intensively enhanced.

The rapid development of the productive forces in the process of industrialization, steady modernization of the economy through promotion of technical-scientific progress, changes in the internal structures of the economic sectors, and intensified mechanization, automation and cybernetic ization of the production processes stepped up the rate and extent of the working class' occupational and general cultural training. This intensified the qualitative aspects of the performance of its role in society and the changes in its social-occupational structure and in its level of training and qualification. Now over four-fifths of all workers are skilled, and the number is increasing of those who have graduated from at least 10 grades or have finished high school as well as those who have highly skilled trades.

The qualitative changes made by socialist construction in the social-professional, political-ideological and moral-spiritual make-up of the working class and the vast experience acquired in social management call for its increasing and direct participation in all of Romania's political and social activities. As Nicolae Ceausescu pointed out, "It is not enough that we merely assert this basic principle of socialism in a program and decisions. We must also create the right organizational framework wherein the working class as a leading class of socialist Romania can have its say directly on all problems of Romania's domestic and foreign policies. That is the only way the leadership of the working class will be emphatically asserted in practice and experience and the RCP will better perform its historic mission as organizer and leader of the people's struggle for construction of the fully developed socialist society and for Romania's advance toward communism." The party's measures to improve workers' democracy and for the working class' effective and increasingly efficient participation in the management of all fields are levers for the better performance of its role as a leading class in society. Through the content and purpose of the system of working class participation in preparation and implementation of decisions and in control of all activity, workers' democracy is asserting its educational and formative powers in shaping the new, socialist traits of the working class and in enhancing the results whereby the decisions invested with the force of law are vindicated in practice.

The organization of agriculture on a new, socialist basis as well as the stages that followed it made radical changes in the class nature and social structure of the peasantry. From a heterogeneous mass of small individual producers, divided by private interests and subject to a constant process of differentiation, the peasantry became a new class with traits peculiar to socialism. The cooperative peasantry is characterized by its homogeneity and the fact that it bases its existence and work upon public ownership of the production means and that it organizes its work, distribution and changes of activity on socialist principles.

In the overall strategy of building the new order, the party and state attach particular importance to agriculture as a basic sector of the national economy, feeling that any neglect of agricultural development and modernization gives rise to discrepancies in the general socioeconomic development with bad effects upon construction of the new order. In accordance with this main guideline, pointed out in the documents discussed and approved by the Plenum of the RCP Central Committee and the Grand National Assembly, the new agrarian revolution is taking place, as well as promotion of the intensive aspect and massive growth of investments out of state funds and of the agricultural production cooperatives, concentration of production in the cooperative units is being intensified, and their public property is being increased. Application of the party and state measures is improving uniform management and planning of agriculture, consolidating the state and cooperative uniform agroindustrial councils, and increasing agricultural production. Intensified cooperative democracy is particularly influencing the crystallization and further promotion of the new traits and socialist nature of the peasantry. Intensifed mechanization of agriculture and modernization of its activity have intensified specialization and professionalization of agricultural work and enriched the occupational and general cultural disciplines.

Considerable changes are taking place in the social-political make-up of the peasantry under the influence of its participation in management and organization of production and labor and of state and public affairs. The experience gained by the cooperative peasantry in agricultural management and in exercise of the prerogatives with which

the bodies of cooperative democracy are invested is helping to shape its political consciousness and its progressive social behavior. A particular part in this is played by the vast political-ideological and cultural-educational work being done in the villages and the fact that agriculture now has a large number of specialists and tens of thousands of physicians, teachers and cultural activists doing their work in communes and villages.

Of course the measures to develop and modernize agriculture and to provide it with the necessary technical-material resources are in full course, and their implementation requires regular efforts and mastery of the various difficulties. Some of the important problems are provision for an optimal ratio in the structure of the agricultural labor force according to ages and sexes, reduction of the trend toward aging and feminization of the labor force, maximum use of the existing material and human potential and of the organizational and administrative personnel in this sector of the national economy, and the need of greater efforts to keep more youths in agricultural work as mechanization specialist and technicians as well as agricultural workers.

As an active social force for the progress of Romanian society, the intelligentsia have an important place in the shape and evolution of Romania's social structure. Construction of the new order and the qualitative changes made in Romania's socioeconomic and cultural activities have transformed the intelligentsia into a new social category. Coming largely from the ranks of the working class and the cooperative peasantry, they are collective owners of the national wealth jointly with the workers and cooperative peasants and active participants in management of socioeconomic and political affairs, asserting their creative potential in all sectors, in material production, in scientific research and education, and in improving the entire people's cultural standard. The new demands of the current scientific-technical revolution amplify the intelligentsia's social role and functions and intensify both their numerical growth rate and the processes of social-professional diversification of the groups that compose them. The present evolution of the social-professional structure of the intelligentsia reflect the party's basic policies of securing the nation's all-around progress and of raising the people's material and cultural standards.

Construction of a modern economy, widespread application of scientific and technical advances to all social activities, achievement of a new quality of life and work, and transition from extensive to intensive development enhance the role of the intelligentsia and especially the technical and economic intelligentsia. Meanwhile the ranks of the other categories of intellectuals are increasing with development of education, expansion and improvement of the system of social aid and protection, modernization of agriculture, and intensification of cultural activity and cultural-educational work. Socialism provides favorable conditions for full expression of the aptitudes, talents and creative power of all intellectuals.

The entirety of the components of the social structure reflects its socialist nature and the stage reached in improving social relations and molding the awareness of them according to the requirements of Romanian society's socioeconomic and moral-cultural progress. In the historical perspective defined by the RCP Program and the decisions of the 12th RCP Congress, new and important changes will be made in the evolution of the social and class structure in keeping with the maturity of social relations and the qualitative changes taking place in the characteristics of the social division of labor, in the way of life, and in the moral-cultural make-up of all workers. Regional systematization of cities and villages and their socioeconomic development will contribute to the balanced distribution of the productive forces throughout the whole

nation and to harmonious development of all areas and communities, making it possible to bring about full social equality of all citizens and to bring the village up to the level of the city. In keeping with the requirements of this development and with the actual state of the economy, the structure according to sectors, and the structure of personnel in the economic units, the party is orienting society toward a marked increase in the number and proportion of directly productive personnel and of workers in material production along with a relative and absolute reduction in administrative-official presonnel. This is a far-reaching policy that will contribute to the faster growth of labor productivity. Implementation of the policies set in the national urbanization program, rationalization of the proportion of women in socioeconomic activities, and employment of the new generations of youth in useful social work according to the requirements of social development and their aspirations and training are heavily influencing the evolution of Romania's social structure.

Social Leveling and the People's Strengthened Socialist Unity

The main direction of the evolution of social and class relations in Romanian society is the gradual reduction and leveling of the essential class distinctions and homogenization of the socialist nation. In this perspective the essential differences between physical and intellectual work and between city and village will gradually disappear, changes in the working conditions and way of life of rural and urban dwellers will be made in the direction of their leveling, and society's general standard of civilization will be increasingly improved.

A particularly important part will be played by the factors for cultural-scientific leveling of the members of society, further development of education on all levels and improvement of its content and structure, ever closer coordination of education of education with research and production, and promotion of technical-scientific progress in all fields.

The party's policy of raising the workers' living standard and further improving the principles of socialist distribution will also make for social leveling. This is illustrated by the considerable increase in the public's total incomes and in the real wages of urban and rural workers above the upper limit of the original provisions, the improvement of state social insurance pensions, and the considerable increase in cooperative farmers' pensions, while a system for pensioning farmers in the uncooperativized areas is being implemented for the first time in Romania. At the same time there is a pronounced increase in the state's social outlays on allowances and grants for children and grants for mothers with many children.

Intensification and further improvement of socialist democracy and active, direct participation of the people in management are ways of political leveling of society that are peculiar to the Romanian order. Involvement of workers in decision-making by effective use of the institutionalized framework is a school of great formative and educational power for developing the masses' capacity for the task of self-government.

The leveling process is inseparable from improvement of political awareness, acquisition of culture and their crystallization in working and living attitudes and behavior that will be in keeping with the standards and principles of Romanian socialist ethics and justice.

Social leveling as a process and an objective, regular historical trend of the Romanian order requires consideration of all aspects of the social existence and moral-cultural life of the members of society in a close dialectical interdependence. The changes taking place in the way of life and and the moral-cultural nature of all workers and the constant rise of their levels of political awareness and occupational training serve to accelerate the process of formation of the single working people. This view presents the social contours of Romania's transition to communism, a stage that calls for a qualitative leap in the configuration of the social classes and categories. This leap is reflected in the disappearance of class distinctions, in the full manifestation of the personality and of all members of society in all fields of activity, and in the complete assertion of the principles and standards of communist organization and management of society corresponding to the radical changes that will be made in the productive forces and the perfection of all social relations, the state, and the entire superstructure of society.

The great revolutionary changes that have taken place in Romania's social structure and in the evolution of its social and class relations are summed up in the formation and continuing consolidation of the entire people's socialist unity and of the Romanian nation's cohesion. As Nicolae Ceausescu pointed out, "The unity of all workers, all social categories regardless of nationality, and the entire people within the Socialist Democracy and Unity Front and under the political leadership of the RCP was and is the guarantee of Romania's steadfast advance on the path of socialism and communism and of the security of Romania's independence and sovereignty."

Of course the assertion of the people's socialist unity as one of the chief motive forces of the progress of Romanian society is no chance phenomenon but the outcome of the historic importance of the RCP's policy and of the implementation of the strategic options for construction and development of the new order. Therefore the consolidation and improvement of the working class' alliance with the peasantry and with the other categories of workers as well as the reinforcement of their unity objectively necessitate development and improvement of the party's role in all fields, on the basis of the qualitative changes in the status and role of the social classes and categories as well as the objective trends of their evolution.

Since the people's socialist unity requires assurance of the most permanent material and objective prerequisites, it is particularly important to concentrate the party organizations' efforts upon attainment of the objectives of the RCP Program and the Five-year Plan for Romania's Socioeconomic Development and Improvement of the People's Civilization and Welfare. Achievement of a new quality of life and work, widespread application of the advances of the technical-scientific revolution, and enhancement of all people's technical, scientific and cultural levels must be the field of a definite, sustained and regular activity on the part of every party organization, for the action of the objective factors in the direction of harmonizing the general and group interests, as an important aspect of the processes of strengthening the people's unity, critically depends upon it. The party organizations must assert themselves as promotors of improvement and consolidation of socialist democracy and secure the increasingly extensive and effective participation of the workers regardless of nationality in the management of all sectors of socioeconomic activity and of society as a whole. Making full use of the institutionalized framework of workers' democracy and combatting red tape and bureaucracy, which still exist, are urgent requirements for strengthening the people's political unity and unity of will and action. An important part is played here by improvement of organizational activity to implement decisions, competent guidance and on-the-spot control, knowledge of the existing

realities in all sectors of activity, intensified political-educational work, expansion of the political and ideological horizon of all categories of workers, and development of their socialist awareness. The ideological dimension of the people's socialist unity conferred by the RCP's revolutionary conception of the world and life (dialectical and historical materialism) must be amplified through the whole effort to form the new man in the spirit of the principles of scientific socialism and revolutionary humanism. Moreover the party organizations are expected to take action to develop the spirit of friendship and brotherhood among all workers regardless of nationality as well as the spirit of work and responsibility to the collective in which they perform their activity and to the general interests of the nation.

The socialist unity of the social classes and categories that make up Romanian society is no absolute, metaphysical entity without any internal contradictions. Like any organism in full development, socialist society knows various contradictions based on particular interests of the different social classes and categories. This makes it necessary for the party organs and organizations to promote a realistic and militant attitude and to emphasize knowledge of the actual situations and provide the most suitable conditions for resolving them. As the party secretary general said, "Performance of the party's role in the new stage of development requires constant improvement of its activity and its working methods and approach as well as extensive discussion of all problems in the party with the working class and all workers. It requires consolidation of the spirit of criticism and self-criticism, which will lead to discovery of the defects and errors and the contradictions and to determination of the measures to eliminate them and to actively promote what is favorable and the new in all fields."

The processes that contribute to the strengthened unity of all categories of workers must be understood and purposefully directed, and this requires greater efforts to prospect the objective trends, a close combination of the specific activity of the party organizations with that of scientific investigation of the socioeconomic realities, and promotion of the principles of scientific management of all aspects involved in relations of collaboration, alliance and unity among the social classes and categories of workers.

5186
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IMPORTANCE OF PREVENTING FIRES IN INDUSTRIAL UNITS STRESSED

Bucharest PAZA CONTRA INCENDIILOR in Romanian Dec 81 pp 4, 10

[Unattributed article]

[Excerpt] The end of November 1981 inscribed in the political life of our party and state events with broad reverberations in the nation's consciousness, with decisive significance for the country's entire social-economic activity and for Romania's firm forward move along the road of socialism and communism. The agenda of events was dense and revealing, specific to the vitality of political life of the new time for the country, which involves all categories of workers and practically all our people in the leadership of the country's affairs through broad democratic forums.

The corollary of these events, impressive demonstrations of the people's full unity around the party, was the joint plenum of the RCP Central Committee and the Supreme Council for Economic and Social Development. The plenum's work was crowned with the exceptional speech by Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu on increasing the role of the party organs and organizations and of the communists in carrying out the decisions of the 12th party congress, in firmly applying the new economic-financial mechanism, in strengthening worker self-leadership and self-management and the territorial self-supply by the population, in improving the planning and leadership of economic activity and in continually developing worker and socialist democracy.

However, difficulties also appeared in fulfillment of the 1981 plan and shortcomings were demonstrated, ones which led to some failures of fulfillment, particularly in the area of coal and oil extraction, in providing the energy base, in material-technical supply, which caused disturbances in the steady flow of the production process. The party's secretary general, with clearsightedness and a high spirit of revolutionary responsibility characteristic of the Romanian Communist Party, analyzed all these lacks of fulfillment, showing that they are due particularly to some subjective reasons, to shortcomings "demonstrated in the activity of leadership and planning of the economy, in the work carried out by the party and state organs and organizations to solve the complex problems raised by the country's social-economic development." In the spirit of that same revolutionary responsibility for the truth, the party's secretary general criticized relentlessly the phenomena of mistaken informing of the higher party and state leadership which was demonstrated, requiring the party organs and organizations and all communists to do their duty honorably, to militate selflessly and with devotion for complete fulfillment of their tasks at the highest level of quality and to decisively eliminate similar phenomena in Romania's social-economic life.

Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu's masterful speech is an inexhaustible source of lessons in improving all the activity of preventing and putting out fires and raising it to a new, qualitatively higher level for firemen as well as for all responsible factors in industry and agriculture, transportation and construction and other areas of social and economic life. Analyzing the prevention activity in the spirit of the high demands formulated by the Party's secretary general, we can say that good results were obtained overall in 1981. The situation shows that the number of fires and the value of losses produced this year were lower than prior years. Yet we cannot overlook that many fires still occurred in the national economy, ones which could have been avoided through better organization of prevention activity, through complete respect for the standards for preventing and putting out fires at all the projects. The most fires were produced in Alba, Bacau, Braila, Botosani, Calarasi, Harghita, Hunedoara, Iasi, Neamt, Satu-Mare, Salaj and Timis Counties. In some counties, like Bistrita-Nasaud, Sibiu, Suceava and Teleorman, the losses caused by the fires even exceeded the value of losses recorded in 1980. This shows that in the counties mentioned, as well as in others, there still are serious gaps in prevention activity and there still is a lot of room for improvement. What are the main directions for future effort, what are the concerns which should be in the center of attention of the heads of the projects, technical commissions and civilian firemen's formations to eliminate any potential causes of fire in the incipient phase?

One of the main directions of effort is improvement in the activity of preventing fires in industry, particularly in the chemical and petrochemical, iron and steel, wood processing combines, in the energy units, in the big machine-construction enterprises, in the special production enterprises, in ports and at airports, on projects with crowds of people and material goods. The leaders of these projects are obligated to give prevention activity a multilateral and permanent nature, to watch for precise respect for the standards and measures for prevention and extinguishing of fires, together with members of the technical commissions and civilian foremen's formations and other specialists, as established for each installation, section, shop and for each place of work, with a view to the decisive elimination of any cause of fire or danger of explosion. On these projects there is special importance in continually maintaining the prevention and extinguishing installations in a permanent state of operation and their maintenance and checks never should be overlooked. Also needed are decisive steps in the area of investments in order to establish, even in the first design phase, all the systems and measures needed for fire protection and to systematically seek to carry them out at the highest quality level, even before the new projects are put into operation.

Some fires occurred in agriculture in 1981, particularly on the fodder bases, which through the losses produced affected the animals' food on the particular farms. So decisive actions are needed to improve the activity of preventing and putting out fires in all agricultural sectors, particularly silos and delivery bases, on the zootechnical farms and fodder warehouses as well as during the grain harvesting campaign.

The heads of p ojects and other responsible factors also are required to take specific measures to strengthen the civilian foremen's formation's ability to intervene. For this purpose a first measure is the appropriate supply of each formation with the equipment and machinery needed and employing it with effective personnel in conformity with the standards in effect. Another very important measure is the solid, multilateral instruction of the formations through complex exercises and applications, as near as possible to real cases of intervention.

A problem of immediate urgency which must concern the responsible factors is finalizing the plans for defense,as provided by the standards of preventing and putting out fires, by 20 January. The project leaders are obligated to show the necessary demandingness so that the defense plans are a precise reflection of all the changes occurring in the particular economic units (new buildings, expansions, new vulnerable vital points for fires and so forth), so that they include specific measures for prevention and intervention, so that they provide nominal tasks for each member of the technical commissions as well as for other specialists. Special attention, of course, should be given to drawing up the defense plans for the 400 new production capacities which went into operation in 1981. It is recommended that the defense plans mainly be drawn up according to the model framework worked out by the firemen's headquarters, clearly, with respect for the particular features of each project.

In all prevention activity it is necessary to give greater attention to the projects and vital points which are vulnerable to fires, where prevention checking should record a leap from the stage of periodic activity to permanent activity.

Supplying each place of work with initial extinguishing means, instructing all personnel, efficient instructive-educational activity which includes all categories of citizens--these also are directions of priority effort, coordinates of the permanent concern of the responsible factors in projects and locations. All these actions should give prevention activity a mass nature. This is the basic condition for prevention activity at all projects to record a true leap in quality. Let us not forget that, as owners, producers and beneficiaries of production, any loss produced by fire to the national wealth affects us all in one way or another. Let us imprint in the consciousness of all citizens a high degree ofcivic responsibility to defend the public wealth against fires through all our prevention activity.

In his masterful speech at the RCP Central Committee and Supreme Council for Social and Economic Development joint plenum, the party's secretary general asks that we all "take action so that each one at his place of work fulfills the tasks entrusted to him by the party under the best conditions," that each fully does his duty with a high sense of communist and revolutionary responsibility. In the area of each communist's and each worker's duty we also have the natural and legal obligation to watch carefully the defense of the national wealth against fires, the patriotic duty of all citizens.

8071
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CAUSES OF EXPLOSIONS, FIRES IN PETROCHEMICAL UNITS ANALYZED

Bucharest PAZA CONTRA INCENDIILOR in Romanian Dec 81 pp 14-15

[Article by Lt Col Ion Stanciu, commander of the Prahova County Firem[illegible] Group]

[Text] Preventing the production of these events and eliminating the consequences they have for equipment and installations--and for the personnel in many cases--and increasing the degree of safe operation of technological equipment and installations are one of the main concerns of the heads of enterprises, technical commissions for preventing and putting out fires and of all specialists. Diversification of technologies in the petrochemical industry, rise in the number of substances used or manufactured, the fact that such events are more numerous and widespread than in other branches of the national economy, on one hand, and the difficulty in treating this subject exhaustively on the other causes us to limit ourselves merely to some some considerations on the need to increase the concern of the leadership factors and specialists in the chemical and petrochemical industry with reducing both the number of damages, explosions and fires in the technological installations as well as their proportions.

Whereas in general the danger of damage or explosions of component elements exists in the installations which produce or circulate fluids at greater than atmospheric pressure, in the petrochemical industry this danger is accentuated by the fact that nearly all the products are inflammable, while their vapors, in contact with the air, form explosive mixtures. As a result, the design standards and those for preventing and putting out fires, the checking and maintenance system for installations as well as the interior regulations are adequate for the purpose of achieving higher safety in the operation of technological installations, while the service personnel is trained in this regard, both while being trained as well as while they are employed, on the basis of programs of specific training. Concerns exist in the leadership organs, the design and research institutes as well as specialists from various departments for this activity to be improved continually, for safety in the operation of installations to increase with a view to fulfilling the main goal: achieving the plan indicators at the quantitative and qualitative levels forecast.

Despite the measures which have been undertaken, the events produced in the petrochemical industry (damages, explosions or fires) have shown that shortcomings still are being demonstrated in the activity of design, building, operation, maintenance and repair of equipment and installations and that action is not being taken firmly everywhere to eliminate these dangerous situations.

The study of accidents, fires or explosions produced in the petrochemical industry permits us to classify the causes for them, as follows:

Accidents

Such events in the technological installations were followed in nearly 60 percent of the cases by fires or explosions and were caused by the following:

Shortcomings in design, demonstrated in the existence of concentrators of efforts in the construction of the equipment (sharp variations in section, sharp changes in direction, connections and so forth); making the construction too small; large stress not included in the calculation (with vibrations being the most frequent and most dangerous); defects in the design of welded joints; materials chosen by mistake; elements of construction which cannot distend at variations in temperature.

Shortcomings in building, caused by failure to respect the building draft; defects in materials (peeling,cracks,hardening, seams, mechanical characteristics inferior to those in the calculation and so forth); the material's becoming brittle; inappropriate heat treatments; superficial welding.

Shortcomings in operation, as a result of corrosion, due both to atmospheric factors as well as products circulated or stocked; erosion, due to the rubbing of the fluid circulated of the container walls, walls of pipes, fittings, pumps and so forth; structural or chemical changes due to high or lower temperatures; fatigue of the material following vibrations or cyclical changes in temperature; excessive rise in pressure and temperature caused by defecting of the measurement and control apparatus or carrying out wrong maneuvers; production of fires or explosions; excessive usage as a result of inappropriate lubrication of the moving surfaces; other causes, such as natural calamities (earthquakes, floods), dangerous weather phenomena (storms and so forth).

Explosions

Generally these phenomena have been preceded by accidents or fires or have caused accidents(in some very serious situations) to the installations and fire in their fluid content. In many cases, besides the large material losses, the explosions also have ended with casualties.

As we see from the situations analyzed, the main causes of explosions in the petrochemical installations have the following, among other things, at their base:

The energy freed as a result of rapid oxidation, which has caused the most explosions in the chemical and petrochemical industry, with their more powerful destructive force being demonstrated in the case where certain mixtures or gases or vapors with the air take place in closed spaces, close to the superior limit of the explosion;

Rapid decomposition of certain chemical compounds;

Uncontrolled polymerization (decomposition), with rapid release of energy and so forth ;

The energy accumulated in fluids from closed systems as a result of exceeding of the technological parameters, failure of the cooling systems to operate or change of conditions for circulation of the fluid in the system;

The energy accumulated by the vapors formed as a result of water penetration in the petroleum products heated to temperatures greater than 100° C.

Fires

In the petrochemical industry, fires are the category with the most events. Due to the fact that in some situations the fires have been followed by explosions or serious accidents on the installations and casualties, an analysis of the causes for them and, implicitly, the measures to prevent them is no less important than an analysis of the causes for the accidents or explosions. In some situations the mistake is made of not analyzing "the starts of fires," the causes producing them, for the reason that they were smaller and did not produce large material losses.

We see from the practice of work and from statistical data that the main causes of fires in this industrial branch can be:

of an electrical nature: sparks and electric arc, short circuit, static electricity, electrical atmospheric discharge (lightning);

of a thermal nature: the open flame (match or lighter spark, fires built in certain situations, such as the worksite, repair jobs on the technological platforms and so forth; blowtorch flame, oxygas flame for welding and so forth); lit cigarettes, warmed, overheated or incandescent bodies (smoke stacks or for evacuation of gases, installations for central heating or improvized ones, radiators and electric lamps, electric heaters and incandescent lamps, overheated electrical pipes, other powerfully heated areas or bodies); sparks from exhaust gases, sparks of combustible materials or those resulting from doing certain jobs (welding, torching, cutting and so forth) with a flame, luminous and solar radiation, self-ignition (chemical, physical-chemical or biological) and so forth);

of a mechanical nature: mechanical actions causing sparks, any type of explosion, yeild through creeping or fatigue, destruction through vibrations or resonance, yield through loss of stability (buckling, collapse, fogging), cracking, becoming brittle and so forth;

of a chemical or electrochemical nature: exothermic chemical reactions, corrosion and electrocorrosion, coking, and burning of metals, carburation and decarburation of ferrous metals, deposit or precipitation of certain substances, chemical compounds and so forth;

Other causes, such as self-ignition of iron sulphide or copper acetylide as a result of doiug certain jobs in technological enclosures for maintenance or repair (by welding, loading with welding and so forth).

If a number of measures were to be taken for new installations even in their design, measures which would give them higher operating safety, for the ones already in operation there is special importance in having the specialists i: the control groups give diagonoses of the installation and having the operating personnel diagnose the defects which can be produced, in having solid preparation of reviews and repairs, in having quality job performance as well as having demanding delivery of them.

In this regard, it should be understood that shortening the length of time it takes for reviews and repairs by rejecting certain things is a harmful practice. "Shortening" reviews and repairs, even if this has not always led to fires or explosions, has been the reason for many accidents which have led to halts balanced with large production losses.

Practice has proven that the measures taken for operating safety (the safety coefficient taken into calculation, doubling some measurement and control apparatuses, protections against destructive factors, ensuring the continuity of energy, water supply and other utilities, safety devices in case the technological parameters are exceeded, installations for preventing and putting out fires and so forth) correspond to the current standards and requirements, even if the tendency--as a matter of fact, justifiable--exists to review and improve the design standards and operating instructions for the technological installations. But, at the same time, it also has shown that nearly all the events produced in the petrochemical industry have man at their base--man who, through his actions or inactions, has caused technical accidents, damage, explosions or fires.

It also should be emphasized that a good portion of the damages, explosions or fires also have been due to the fact that the personnel of the installations, from failure to know or from negligence, have carried out some mistaken maneuvers, have not totally fulfilled the duties for the supervision and control while they are in operation or have not intervened in a timely fashion to solve certain defects and disruptions. Another aspect is the lack of training, indecisiveness with which action is taken in case certain damages or fires are produced; plans for intervention drawn up for this purpose in certain situations are formal, while in other they are not known by all the personnel.

The ease with which some heads of installations and other people give the notice for working with fire is a particularly important problem, since it has been found that in some cases permission is given without taking all the necessary protective measures, while many times it has been found that permission is given for a job for a certain operation and in a certain place, but the jobs also were done in other places (nearly in all these types of situations the starts of fires, fires or even explosions have been produced).

We dwell on the need to instruct and educate personnel, for control over the way in which they perform their job duties, not only because it is one of the important duties of the higher heads (from the head of the working formation to the head of the enterprise), but also because it is the main way to influence the factor who insures that the coefficient of safety in operation is reached for any installation.

8071
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DECREE ON EXECUTION OF CENSUS OF DOMESTIC ANIMALS

Bucharest ROMANIA LIBERA in Romanian 7 Jan 82 p 5

[Council of State Decree on Execution of Census of Domestic Animals]

[Text] Increasing agricultural production, particularly animal production, is an important factor within the measures intended to insure the continued rise in the workers' standard of living.

Substantiation of the technical-organizational measures for developing zootechnics and increasing animal production, in conformity with the directing lines of Romania's social-economic development for the 1981-1990 period and establishing a real base for working out the five-year and annual plans and programs for territorial self-leadership and self-supply require that detailed information be obtained on the structure, characteristics and production potentialof livestock. So, data are needed to characterize the animal numbers by breeds, numbers, quality and by age groups.

For this purpose, the Council of State of the Socialist Republic of Romania decrees:

Chapter I General Provisions

Article 1. The census of domestic animals is carried out in communes, cities and municipalities, throughout the country, at the start of February each year.

The census establishes the number of cattle, hogs, sheep, goats, horses, domestic rabbits, animals for fur from the stockfarms, poultry and families of bees existing at the start of the year in the socialist units and other units having animals as well as on the population's plots.

Article 2. Physical persons as well as state and cooperative socialist units which own or keep animals from the category of those provided in Article 1 are required to declare them to be counted in the census under the conditions of this decree.

In the case where a physical person violates the obligation provided in paragraph 1, the animals he has failed to declare are considered as not belonging to him and are taken from him, without payment, for state ownership.

If a socialist unit, state or cooperative, declares a smaller number of animals than really exists, then the animals which have failed to be declared are taken over, without payment, for the centralized state fund. The person guilty of violating the requirement to declare is to bear the countervalue of the loss to the unit.

Declaration of a larger number of animals than held in reality is an infraction and is penalized according to criminal law.

Article 3. The animal census is made under the leadership and control of the central commission and territorial commissions for census of domestic animals, organized in accordance with the provisions of this decree.

The organs which insure that the census is carried out are required to check on the existence of the animals on the spot and the exactness of the data declared by the owners, that is, those holding the animals, and they are directly responsible for registering the entire number of animals existing on the date of the census.

Those holding animals are required to permit and make it easy for the personnel doing the census and the control organs to verify the reality of the data declared on the spot.

Article 4. The executive committees and bureaus of the people's councils are responsible for the entire activity of the census of animals in the administrative-territorial unit in which they operate and they are required to insure precise application of the measures established for this purpose and to check on strict respect for the legal provisions on carrying out the census.

Chapter II Organization and Operation of the Central Commission and Territorial Commissions for Census of Domestic Animals

Article 5. The central commission for census of domestic animals, comprised as provided in Appendix 1, is established for preparing, heading and coordinating the work of the animal census.

The technical secretariat of the central commission for census of domestic animals is insured by the Central Statistical Directorate with participation of specialists from the Ministry of Agriculture and Food Industry, designated by the Council of Ministers.

Article 6. The central commission for census of domestic animals has the following duties:

a) It works out the plan for organization of the census, methods and program for data processing; it establishes the data to be obtained in the census and the forms and it is responsible for the work of the census of domestic animals;

b) It organizes the action to recruit and instruct the personnel doing the census;

c) It organizes the action to publicize the census;

d) It informs the Council of State of the status of the preparatory work and the registration operations in the field and it presents the census results to it.

Article 7. In order to prepare, head and coordinate the census work in the administrative-territorial units, the executive committees or bureaus of the people's councils establish county, Bucharest municipal, municipal, city and commune commissions as well as commissions from the Bucharest municipal sectors for the census of domestic animals in accordance with Appendix 2.

The tasks and operating method for these commissions are set by the central commission for the census of domestic animals.

The componence of the county, Bucharest municipal, municipal, city and commune commissions and commissions of the Bucharest municipal sectors for the census of domestic animals is approved by decision of the executive committee or bureau of the people's council.

The technical secretariat of the county and Bucharest municipal commissions is provided by the county statistical directorate and Bucharest municipal statistical directorate, respectively, with the participation of specialists from the general directorate for agriculture and food industry named by the executive committee of the county or Bucharest municipal people's council.

Article 8. Members of the commissions for census of domestic animals enjoy the protection of the law as well as persons doing the jobs involving the exercising of state authority in fulfilling their tasks while doing the census.

Article 9. The personnel doing the census are required to register the animals from the population's plots on the basis of the owner's declaration and verification of the existing number of animals by visiting each plot.

In case the animal is not with the owner, he is required to declare it, while the registration is made following on-the-spot verification of the particular animals' existence with the person possessing it.

The state and cooperative socialist units which possess animals from the category of the ones provided in Article 1 are required to list the exact data regarding the entire number of animals on the census forms.

Article 10. Checking of the registration operations, as these operations are carried out, is made by the verification teams set up for each unit, commune, city and municipality by the county and Bucharest municipal commissions on the basis of the methods standards approved by the central commissions.

Chapter III Duties of State Organs in the Census of Domestic Animals

Article 11. The executive bureaus and committees of the people's councils provide the needed personnel for the census and they are to be recruited from the agricultural technical cadres, personnel of the people's councils and other specialized cadres.

Personnel recruited to prepare for and carry out the operations for the census are freed from the tasks in the units where they are employed during the period of these operations and they keep all the rights they enjoy in these units.

The census commissions provided in Article 7 take measures to instruct all the personnel recruited for the animal census and provide means of transportation and housing for those participating in carrying out, guiding and checking on the census work.

The agricultural units are required to place at the disposal of the commissions for the census of domestic animals the means of transportation needed to carry out and organize the census work for a three-day period, within the schedules provided in

the timetables drawn up by the census commissions together with the executive committees and bureaus of the people's councils.

Article 12. The Ministry of Agriculture and the Food Industry, the National Union of Agricultural Production Cooperatives, other ministries and central organs, and the executive committees and bureaus of the people's councils take measures to register all the animals in the units they have under them, in accordance with the instructions issued by the central commission for the census of domestic animals.

Article 13. The Ministry of Transportation and Telecommunications insures the registration of the animals being transported in the period that the census is being done, in accordance with the specific methods standards approved by the central commission.

The commissions for the census of domestic animals take measures for the correct registration of the animals travelling or being wintered in locations other than the ones where they are headquartered or the residence of the persons possessing them.

Article 14. Carrying out of the census of animals possessed by units of the Ministry of National Defense and the Minister of Interior is insured by these ministries, which send the results of the registrations to the central commission for the animal census.

Article 15. The capital required to prepare and organize the census of domestic animals is included annually in the financial indicators of the Central Statistical Directorate.

Article 16. The Council for Socialist Culture and Education and the National Council of Romanian Radio-Television, the central and local press insure that the actions for the census of the domestic animals are publicized.

Chapter IV Penalties

Article 17. Violation of the provisions of this decree, according to the case, brings disciplinary, material, civil, contraventional or criminal responsibility of the guilty parties.

Article 18. The following acts are contraventions if they are not committed under conditions whereby, according to criminal law, they would be considered infractions and they are penalized with a fine of from 1,000-3,000 lei:

a) Failure of the personnel entrusted with carrying out the census to respect the legal provisions for registering the data which are the subject of the census;

b) Preventing the persons doing the census or members of the verification team from checking the number of animals in the categories provided in Article 1 on the spot.

Establishment of the contravention and application of the fine are done by the mayor as well as persons especially empowered by the central commission or the county and Bucharest municipal commissions for the census of domestic animals.

The provisions of Law No 32/1968 on Establishment and Penalization of Contraventions apply to the contraventions provided in this article.

Chapter V Final Provisions

Article 19. The Ministry of Agriculture and the Food Industry, the Committee for Problems of the People's Councils and the Central Statistical Directorate, together with the executive committees and bureaus of the people's councils, are required to insure that all residents possessing animals know the provisions of this decree, that publicity is given to these provisions in the citizens' meeting in the labor collectives of the agricultural production cooperatives and state agricultural units, through the local press, signs and others means of information.

The presidents of the executive committees and bureaus of the people's councils and other worker personnel in the people's councils, the county and Bucharest municipal statistical directorates, the heads of socialist agricultural units as well as all personnel participating in carrying out the census are required to sign that they know the provisions of this decree and to insure the strict application of them.

Article 20. Appendices 1 and 2 are an integral part of this decree.

Article 21. Decree No 516/1978 on Executive of the Census of Domestic Animals, as published in BULETINUL OFICIAL AL REPUBLICII SOCIALISTE ROMANIA No 111 of 21 December 1978, is cancelled.

Nicolae Ceausescu, president of the Socialist Republic of Romania.

Appendix 1: Componence of the Central Commission for Census of Domestic Animals

President: vice premier of the government.

First vice president: the minister of agriculture and the food industry; president of the National Union of Agricultural Production Cooperatives

Vice presidents: deputy head of a section at the Central Committee of the Romanian Communist Party; vice president of the Committee for Problems of the People's Councils; deputy minister of agriculture and the food industry; vice president of the State Planning Committee; director general of the Central Statistical Directorate

Members: head of the Department of State Agriculture; deputy minister of agriculture and the food industry; vice president of the National Union of Agricultural Production Cooperatives; president of the Bank for Agriculture and the Food Industry; deputy minister of finance; vice president of the Central Union of Consumer Cooperatives; rector of the Nicolae Balcescu Agronomic Institute in Bucharest; director of the Zooveterinary General Economic Directorate in the Ministry of Agriculture and the Food Industry.

Secretary: deputy director general of the Central Statistical Directorate.

Deputy ministers and vice presidents and the deputy director general are to be named by the head of the central organ they are part of.

Appendix 2: Componence of the County, Bucharest Municipal, Municipal, City, Bucharest Municipal Sector and Commune Commissions for Census of Domestic Animals

A. County and Bucharest Municipal Commission

President: first vice president of the people's council executive committee

Vice presidents: director general of the General Directorate for Agriculture and the Food Industry; director of the statistical directorate.

Members: The veterinary director from the General Directorate for Agriculture and the Food Industry; director of the trust of state agricultural enterprises; vice president of the union of agricultural production cooperatives; directors of the meat and milk industrialization enterprises; director of the financial administration; director of the enterprise for recovery and utilization of reusable materials; the president of the union of consumer cooperatives; director of the branch of the Bank for Agriculture and the Food Industry; deputy inspector general of the school inspectorate; head of the section for planning, development and organization of the people's council executive committee; head inspector of the forestry inspectorate; three-four deputies from the people's council.

B. Municipal (City) Commission

President: first vice president and vice president of the executive committee or bureau, respectively, of the people's council.

Vice president: secretary of the executive bureau or committee of the people's council.

Members: veterinary doctor or technician from the veterinary district in the municipality (city); insemination technician from the artificial insemination point; head census taker and two-three deputies from the municipal (city) people's council; delegate from the county school inspectorate or director of a secondary school in the locality; delegate from the department for planning, salaries, personnel and education from the department for local state administration and secretariat ; two-three peasants in case the municipality or city has villages under it.

C. Commission of the Ilfov Agricultural Sector Under Bucharest Municipality

President: First vice president of the people's council executive committee.

Vice president: secretary of the executive committee of the people's council

Members: deputy director of the trust of agricultural enterprises of the state and Bucharest Municipality; head of the reproduction and selection office; head inspector of the veterinary health inspectorate of Bucharest Municipality; deputy director of the branch of the Bank for Agriculture and Food Industry; zootechnical engineer from the General Directorate for Agriculture and the Food Industry of Bucharest Municipality; school inspector; head of the financial district; delegate from the department for planning, salaries and personnel; two-three deputies from the people's council; two-three peasants.

D. Commission of the Sector of Bucharest Municipality

President: first vice president of the people's council executive committee.

Vice president: secretary of the people's council executive committee.

Members: veterinary doctors or technicians from the veterinary districts of the municipal sectors; director of a secondary school in the sector; head census taker; two-three deputies from the people's council.

E. Commune Commission

President: president of the commune people's councils executive bureau (Mayor).

Vice president: secretary of the commune people's council executive bureau.

Members: a zootechnical engineer (technician) or agronomist (from the agricultural production cooperative or state agricultural enterprise) or an agronomic engineer or agricultural technician from the commune; the president of an agricultural production cooperative in the commune; presidents of the cattle- and sheep-raising associations in the noncooperativized locations; head census taker; two-three deputies from the commune people's council.

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CONSUMER COOPERATIVES CONGRESS

[Editorial Report] AU251903 Bucharest SCINTEIA in Romanian on 22 and 23 January both carry on page 5 reports on the proceedings of the seventh congress of Consumer Cooperatives [CENTROCOOP] that took place in Bucharest 21-22 January. SCINTEIA of 23 January reports that "as the last point on the agenda, the congress elected, by secret ballot, the CENTROCOOP council composed of 145 members and 36 candidate members and the auditing commission." "Comrade Paul Niculescu, member of the political executive committee of the RCP Central Committee, was elected chairman of the CENTROCOOP council and comrades Constantin Ioan, Ion Radulescu, Domokos Szasz, Ion Tarachiu and Ortansa Vilceanu were elected vice chairman. "Comrade Nicolae F. Ionescu was elected chairman of the auditing commission." SCINTEIA of 22 January also carries on page 5 the abridged text of the report presented by Paul Niculescu at the opening of the congress reviewing achievements, touching briefly on shortcomings and outlining future tasks, while SCINTEIA of 23 January on page 5 carries the abridged text of the resolution adopted by the congress of consumer cooperatives. The resolution goals are to intensify the contracting and purchasing of agricultural products, develop the animal breeding sector and vegetable growing, improve and diversify services to the people, the small-scale industry, make better use of local raw materials, develop exports, deepen cooperative democracy and firmly apply the new mechanism of workers self-management and self-administration and to develop international relations. SCINTEIA of 23 January on page 5 also carries the text of a cable sent by the participants of the congress of consumer cooperatives to the RCP Central Committee and Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu. Pledging to improve their activity. Bucharest SCINTEIA in Romanian of 22 January carries on page 1 the message addressed by Romanian President Nicolae Ceausescu to the seventh congress of consumer cooperatives held in Bucharest 21-22 January. The message reveiws economic achievements attained by the Romanian people, sets forth the consumer cooperatives, tasks to substantially increase their agricultural products and foodstuffs, to radically improve work and give an impetus to trade between villages and towns. No further processing planned.

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ARTISAN COOPERATIVES CONGRESS

[Editorial Report] AU211012 Bucharest SCINTEIA in Romanian of 19 and 20 January both carry on page 2 a report on the proceedings of the sixth congress of Artisan Cooperatives [UCECOM] that took place in Bucharest 18-19 January. SCINTEIA of 20 January reports that "as the last point on the agenda, the congress elected, by secret ballot, the UCECOM Council composed of 133 members and 18 candidate members and the auditing commission." "Comrade Gheorghe Blaj was elected chairman of UCECOM and Comrades Ion Chirilescu, Paul Nagy, Adriana Moraru, Constantin Cotoi and Olga Borsia were elected vice chairmen." "Comrade Ilie Alexe was elected chairman of the auditing commission." SCINTEIA of 20 January also carries on page 2 the abridged text of the resolution adopted by the congress of artisan cooperatives. The resolution targets are to smoothly develop all fields of the small-scale industry, to increase the range of products and productivity, to conclude long-term cooperation contracts, improve services and product quality, increase the volume of exports and seek new local material resources and to urge all artisan cooperatives to focus on constantly increasing economic efficiency and on consistently applying the new economic mechanism of workers' self-management and self-administration. The resolution also stresses the importance of properly training cadres for all trades and improving work styles and methods. Bucharest SCINTEIA in Romanian on 19 January carries on page 1 the 2,000-word message addressed by Nicolae Ceausescu to the sixth congress of artisans' cooperatives held in Bucharest on 18 and 19 January. The message reviews Romania's economic situation and the tasks incumbent in that framework on the artisans' cooperatives, which are required to provide more and better consumer goods and services.

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BRIEFS

PRESS ON PRICE CORRELATION--AU261000 Bucharest SCINTEIA in Romanian on 19 January carries an article by the director of the state committee for prices on the need to correlate production and retail prices. Subsequent issues of SCINTEIA--20, 21 and 22 January--and Romania Libera on 20 and 22 January carry similar articles dealing with the same topic and designed to explain to the people that, in view of the increases recorded in recent years in the prices of raw materials and fuels, production costs in industry and agriculture have been going up and hence, to avoid deficits, retail prices will have to follow the same course. The articles also stress that working people's incomes have been increased in Romania while retail prices have remained unchanged for years, thus making adjustments necessary. Bucharest SCINTEIA of 28, 29, 30 and 31, as well as Romania Libera of 28 and 30 January carry articles dealing with the judicious correlation of production and retail prices in the field of agriculture to place it on a more profitable basis and to achieve a more judicious relationship between price and income increases. [Editorial Report]

CEAUSESCU GREETED ON BIRTHDAY--To Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu, RCP secretary general and president of the Socialist Republic of Romania. On your 64th birthday I want to convey, dear friend, warmest congratulations on behalf of the Korean Workers' Party [KWP] Central Committee, the DPRK Government, the Korean people and on my own behalf. The Korean people highly appreciate the great achievements attained by the fraternal Romanian people, under your leadership, in their struggle for firmly defending the country's sovereignty, for building the comprehensively developed socialist society and for the contribution you are actively making to the cause of peace. Convinced that the relations of friendship and cooperation between our parties, countries and peoples will continue to strengthen and develop even more, I want to take this opportunity to extend best wishes for good health and happiness and sincere wishes to you and the Romanian people for increasingly greater successes in implementing the 12th RCP Congress decisions. [Signed] Kim Il-song, general secretary of the KWP Central Committee and DPRK president. [Text] [AU011048 Bucharest SCINTEIA in Romanian 27 Jan 82 p 5]

ELENA CEAUSESCU'S--AU111004 Bucharest SCINTEIA in Romanian on 7 January carries on pages 1 and 3 A 1,500-word article by Ana Muresan, chairman of the National Council of Women, entitled: "Woman--An Active Presence in Our Fatherland's Socioeconomic Life" devoted to the role of Romanian women in general and to Comrade Elena Ceausescu's birthday and the 450-word text of a letter sent by the political

executive committee of the RCP Central Committee to Elena Ceausescu congratulating her on her birthday and wishing her new successes "in her activity devoted to the party and people." Bucharest Lumea in Romanian No 2 of 7 January carries on pages 4 and 5 a 2,400-word unattributed article entitled: "To Comrade Elena Ceausescu--Homage to A Life Devoted To Science and Socialist Romania's Progress" which outlines Elena Ceausescu's activity, her scientific works, which reflect "her commendably fulfilled duties as politician, revolutionary militant and, at the same time, as scientist and scholar of world fame," and her aim "to achieve the happiness and well-being of our people and to raise the country onto the level of socialist and communist civilization." [Editorial Report]

INTERIOR MINISTRY SESSION--AU190656 Bucharest SCINTEIA in Romanian on 14 January carries on page 5 a 700-word report on a session held by the "Party and Command AKTIV of the Ministry of the Interior," to review 1981 activities. In a message sent to Nicolae Ceausescu at the end of the session, the participants state that they "obtained positive results in 1981 in combating and preventing crime and other anti-social acts, and strengthening law, order and discipline," and pledged to further increase "the combat preparedness of all [militia] troops," and to "defend the Romanian people's revolutionary achievements." [Editorial Report]

CREDENTIALS PRESENTES--Gen Antonio Ramalho Eanes, president of the Republic of Portugal, on 15 January received Larisa Munteanu who presented her credentials as ambassador of the Socialist Republic of Romania. A message was extended to the head of the Portuguese state on behalf of Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu, president of the Socialist Republic of Romania, as well as best wishes and the desire to develop bilateral relations in the interests of the two peoples and the cause of peace and security in Europe. Expressing thanks, President Antonio Ramalho Eanes asked the Romanian ambassador to convey cordial greetings to Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu, president of the Socialist Republic of Romania. Stressing the positive relations between the two countries, he pointed out that conditions exist for them to continue to further develop. [Text] [AU181156 Bucharest SCINTEIA in Romanian 16 Jan 82 p 6]

'ARAFAT THANKS CEAUSESCU FOR CABLE--To Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu, with revolutionary greetings. It gives me pleasure to convey, on behalf of our Arab Palestinian people and my brother members of the PLO executive committee, deeprooted thanks and particular appreciation for the telegram of solidarity you sent us on the 17th anniversary of the Palestinian revolution. Your cable reasserts the firm and sure support granted by the party, government and people in the Socialist Republic of Romania, under your wise leadership, to the struggle waged by the Arab Palestinian people to achieve their inalienable and secure national rights and primarily their right to return to their homes, to self-determination in freedom and their right to create their Palestinian state on their national Palestinian soil and territory. Brother president, you are undoubtedly of the same opinion when we state that there will be no peace, stability and security in our area as long as our Arab Palestinian people's rights--recognized by the United Nations and other international organizations--are not fulfilled. We are fully convinced that the relations of sincere cooperation and militant solidarity linking our people to the friendly Romanian people, to the RCP and the Romanian Government, under your wise leadership, will develop in their mutual interests on the road to achieving a bright and dear future dominated by freedom, independence, sovereignty and equality. I want to

take this opportunity to wish you complete good health and personal happiness and new progress and well-being to your people. Revolution until the final victory! [Signed] Yasir 'Arafat, PLO executive committee chairman and general commander of the Palestinian revolutionary forces. [Text] [AU111155 Bucharest SCINTEIA in Romanian 9 Jan 82 p 5]

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PROBLEMS IN CHECKING QUALITY OF DRUGS IN NATIONWIDE DEFENSE

Belgrade ARHIV ZA FARMACIJU in Serbo-Croatian No 5-6, 1981 pp 333-336

[Article by Radomir Popovic and Aleksandar Hranilovic, Pharmacy, Military Medical Academy in Belgrade, and Medical Department of the Federal Secretariat for National Defense]

[Text] The article examines the conditions, organization and professional work of the pharmacist in checking the quality of drugs in nationwide defense. Certain factors are presented which are important and have an influence on levels of professional analytical work, the characteristics of those levels are stated, and a contribution is thereby made to carrying out preparations for this aspect of pharmaceutical activities in nationwide defense.

One of the pharmacist's principal tasks in nationwide defense (ONO) is the timely supply to the medical institutions of drugs and other medical supplies, for whose quality he bears direct responsibility. Aside from preparing, storing and issuing drugs, under wartime conditions the pharmacist also assumes responsibility for their quality regardless of the conditions in which he does his professional work [1].

In ONO and emergency situations the pharmacist may verify drugs either in a permanent institution or in the field. However, wartime conditions are also characterized by a number of difficulties such as the shortage of highly trained personnel, laboratory equipment, instruments and reagents, the more difficult working conditions, etc., while on the other hand it should be borne in mind that the conditions for storing drugs will have deteriorated, that drugs will be in use which have been captured from the enemy or obtained in the form of aid from allies or other sources, that radiological, chemical or biological contamination is possible, there may be damage to the packaging or pharmaceutical forms in transport, and so on.

Certainly the criteria required by the various pharmacopoeias, official standards or other recognized regulations in the analysis of drugs cannot be fully applied under such working conditions. In assessing the quality of some drugs it will often be necessary to overlook certain strict peacetime requirements which do not essentially affect the pharmacological properties of a drug, especially with

respect to the level of purity. To what limit it is possible to depart from the values set in the pharmacopoeia depends above all on the physicochemical properties and pharmacological activities of the drug, the galenical form, the manner of administration and a number of other factors. For example, saline infusion is used as a blood substitute and as the base solution for administering a sizable number of drugs by infusion. Kitchen salt, a widely used consumer product, can replace sodium chloride and be used from local sources. However, the quality of kitchen salt is not identical to pharmacopoeia quality, since aside from chemical impurities, it also contains mechanical impurities which must first be removed by a procedure of pharmaceutical technology. The manner of a drug's administration has an important role in rendering an opinion on quality; for example, the same criteria cannot be applied to a substance used perorally and the preparation of medicines for external use that apply to a substance used for making a solution for injection or infusion. The guarantees of drug quality offered under peacetime conditions by the pharmaceutical industry or other manufacturer, including preparation by the pharmacist, cannot be altogether implemented under wartime conditions, since the level of professional work is lower in view of the general difficulties which war imposes on industry, such as the poor quality of the basic raw materials, the stepped up pace of production, the lower level of professional skill of employed personnel, poor containers, more difficult working conditions, etc.

The purpose of monitoring drugs is to establish their identity, the content of active ingredients and the level of purity, and to perform all three tests whenever and wherever it is possible. The line must be clearly drawn between a drug in proper condition and one that is not, so that the pharmacist, adhering precisely to the regulations that have been issued, will not be led into doubt as to whether some drug is in proper condition or not.

Sometimes it will be sufficient for quality testing to perform only the group reaction for rough identification (for example, identifying an alkaloid with some group reagent for alkaloids, salicylate with ferric (III) chloride or purine bases with the murexide test). However, the regulations governing the testing for each drug must state the specific reactions with which identity can unquestionably be proven with sufficient reliability.

In addition to the identification of drugs, it is an important task of the pharmacist in wartime to test the degree of purity, since without such tests it will not be possible to use even the least suspicious material. Impurities can roughly be divided into active and indifferent, and on the basis of the testing method into admixtures which recur frequently and are envisaged by the pharmacopoeia and those impurities which are not covered by the pharmacopoeia (chemical weapons) and impurities that come about as a result of radiation. Under wartime conditions it will not always be possible to run tests on all impurities, but will be run primarily for those impurities which could make the drug harmful or poisonous to the human organism, and those of the active impurities. Testing for contamination with radioactive agents should also be an integral part of these tests.

Quantitative analysis, which would cover the content of the active ingredient in the drug, would be conducted in cases when the working conditions allow. These

tests are mainly represented by various physicochemical procedures, but volumetric methods are used most frequently; they are also the most common in quantitative analysis in accordance with the regulations of the pharmacopoeia, they are simple to perform, they do not require special equipment, and they give accurate results. In certain cases modern analytical methods of checking drugs with up-to-date laboratory instruments will also be used. Which of these methods of quantitative analysis will be applied under field conditions depends on the place where the tests are conducted, the working conditions, the available chemicals, instruments and equipment, as well as the background of specialized personnel.

Biological and microbiological tests of drugs under wartime conditions are difficult and hardly feasible. Nevertheless, in case of need microbiological tests do come under consideration in order to test and establish the activity of antibiotics. The most suitable methods for work under wartime conditions should be adopted for these tests. The testing of sterility shall be done less frequently, and that in collaboration with the bacteriology laboratory of the public health service. Particular attention must therefore be paid to the preparation of solutions for infusion and injection by developing the appropriate technology and equipment. Then occasional checking and testing of sterility, mainly in order to check the procedure and apparatus, that is, the work process, would be sufficient.

Because of the general conditions and also in order to achieve conformity with the organization of health care in wartime, the monitoring of drugs should in principle be done at three basic levels which differ from one another in their size, the makeup of their personnel and the way in which they are equipped [2].

Level I comprises organoleptic tests conducted by the person handling drugs, most often the pharmaceutical technician, in order to determine the need for professional laboratory verification on the basis of familiarity with the harmful factors in storage and transport.

Level II embraces the laboratory methods of qualitative and possibly quantitative chemical analysis in order to arrive at rapid and sufficiently reliable assessments of a drug's quality. The testing procedures of the pharmacopoeia or other analytical regulations concerning the monitoring of drugs have been adapted to work under field conditions. The laboratory equipment is often represented by modifications of peacetime equipment; the reagents if possible should be in ampules, measured out in advance, or so prepared that they can be quickly prepared. The verification of drugs at this level is done by a general pharmacist.

Level III is aimed at making a final evaluation of the drug being tested. Present-day analytical methods adjusted to the possibility that the work would be done under field conditions or hospital conditions, including the relevant laboratory apparatus and equipment, are used in this work. A pharmacist who is a specialist in the testing of drugs does the work in a laboratory.

On the basis of their method of operation or the type of transport used for laboratories used under field conditions, laboratories can be divided into the following types:

i. stationary, when the laboratory operates under conditions that approximate those of peacetime, i.e., inside a permanent structure, and frequent moving is not anticipated;

ii. mobile, where the laboratory equipment is partly mounted and partly accommodated in the body of a special vehicle--the mobile laboratory; and

iii. portable, in the form of a medical kit packed in one or more chests which are carried or transported (Figure 1).

Figure 1. Medical kit designated "Drug Monitoring and Testing Laboratory, Portable" (portion of the interior of the laboratory).

The advantages and drawbacks of these types of laboratories are obvious. Professional work is at the highest level in stationary laboratories, assuming complete staffing and supply, but such laboratories are often confined to a particular territory. The mobile laboratory can for all practical purposes operate in any season and in the daytime and at night, carrying out a full work program, since it does not depend on being accommodated, it moves about over the territory it serves, and it is made operational very quickly. Diverse equipment can be built into the body of this mobile laboratory to expand the possibilities for professional work, the working conditions of personnel are quite favorable, and the capacity is relatively large.

The basic convenience of the portable and mobile laboratories for monitoring drugs is that one laboratory can be successfully used at several medical institutions in the region, which is done by scheduling their movement from institution to institution.

Appropriate laboratories for monitoring drugs of the portable and mobile types have been developed in our country; they can comprise the basis for equipping the respective wartime institutions where pharmaceutical activity is conducted.

Professional organizations of pharmacists and the relevant agencies of sociopolitical communities have adopted positions concerning the basic issues of monitoring drugs in ONO, and the curricula for the training of personnel furnish pharmacists the necessary professional knowledge, which is built on in postgraduate study and through continuing advanced training. However, this indicates the need for further scientific research in the field of monitoring drugs so as to adapt the up-to-date scientific advances of professional work to the conditions of ONO.

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7045
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WESTERN COMMENT ON PROPOSED FEDERAL APPOINTMENTS

Frankfurt/Main FRANKFURTER ALLGEMEINE in German 25 Jan 82 p 4

[Unattributed article: "Changes in Yugoslav Government -- Power Shifts/More Influence for Serbia"]

[Text] Belgrade, 24 January -- There has been mixed reaction in Belgrade political circles to the official announcement of the changes in the Yugoslav federal government scheduled for April, most of which changes have already been leaked unofficially. It is acknowledged that a competent political leader -- the Slovene Stane Dolanc -- will be taking over the thorny Internal Affairs Ministry; it is similarly undisputed that the proposed new foreign minister -- Mojsov, of Macedonia -- is both experienced and internationally known as a result of his many years as Yugoslavia's representative to the United Nations. The move by the present defense minister, General Ljubicic, to the position of head of the State Presidency of the Republic of Serbia appears to be politically significant. His successor as leader of the armed forces and the military ministry -- Admiral Mamula, a Serb from Croatia and a Tito protege -- might place somewhat less emphasis on the authority of the armed forces. There appears to be no consensus yet on a nominee as the important vice president for economics. Milenko Bojanic of Serbia has been mentioned; he has worked with economic and financial policy in the past and is now director of the large automobile plant in Kragujevac. The incumbent -- Zvone Dragan, a Slovene -- has earned universal respect but wants to be relieved, presumably for health reasons.

Coming as something of a surprise was the nomination of Croatian Central Committee President Milka Planic to succeed Djuranovic as president of the Federal Executive Council -- head of the government, in other words. Tito installed Milka Planic as party president in Croatia in 1971 following his intervention against the "nationalists"; since that time she has been more of a symbol of the great vacuum in Croatian politics than anything else. Since Bakaric is getting along in years, and since a Croatian functionary -- Dragosavac, a Serb -- already occupies the highest post in the federal party, there was apparently no one else available in Croatia, whose turn it is to provide the prime minister. Considering that the next chairman of the Yugoslav State Presidency is Petar Stambolic, a Serbian functionary of very advanced age, relations with foreign heads of state and government could become somewhat ponderous in his upcoming term of office.

Concealed in the planned personnel changes are certain shifts, but also problems in the power structures. It will probably be even more difficult to determine which

institutions in Yugoslavia wield true political power and leadership authority. It it rumored that Dolanc, as internal affairs minister, is to retain his position in the party presidium in order not to reveal the dilemma over just what the party's role is to be.

It is apparent that the Republic of Serbia's political leadership is gaining greater and greater influence, also within the federation. In two lively Central Committee sessions, the republic's leadership -- in the persons of Parliament President Draza Markovic, Dobrivoje Vidic and government head Stambolic -- emphatically exerted the republic's influence with reference to Voivodina and Kosovo, the autonomous regions situated within its territory, and also took the opportunity to call attention to Serbia's interests within Yugoslavia as a whole. The move by General Ljubicic to the Presidency of the Serbian Republic will increase the republic's influence even more.

At the same time Minic, the former foreign minister, Serbian federal politician and Tito protege, is losing much of his influence. The Serbian Republic's leadership is tolerating a certain amount of liberalism in its newspapers and returning to economically progressive conceptions of the "large systems" advocated around 1970 by the Serbian leader Nikezic, who was deposed by Tito, but it favors a certain amount of centralism within its own republic and probably for all of Yugoslavia as well. Moreover, it favors the present policy of repression in Kosovo. The nomination of the Slovene Dolanc as internal affairs minister is also being well received in Serbia. Many people are reminded of the prewar period when, also under the aegis of Serbia, a strong Slovenian politician -- Korosec, the clerical leader -- had run the Internal Affairs Ministry very effectively for a long time.

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ELECTION OF CLERGY TO SAWP BODIES DISCUSSED

Zagreb VJESNIK in Serbo-Croatian 13 Feb 82 SEDAM DANA supplement p 16

[Article by Nenad Ivankovic: "Priests in the 'Pool of Candidates'"]

[Text] During this period in advance of the election there is more and more talk about how worthwhile it would be to elect a certain number of priests to the bodies of the Socialist Alliance. This is not, of course, a new demand, since that has been the direction taken even before now, as indicated by the following figures: in the last election in various bodies of the Socialist Alliance (from the local community to the republic conference) 116 religious officers were elected in Croatia, 165 in Serbia, 245 in Bosnia-Hercegovina, and so on.

This unquestionably substantial number of religious officers in the bodies of our organization with the largest membership, it is held, should contribute to "guiding political activity toward creation of still more favorable conditions for achievement of religious freedoms" in certain places.

Others, however, who on various grounds dispute the right of priests to be involved in public affairs in this way, say: "... it simply means that someone is becoming a member of a government body or sociopolitical forum because he is a member of the clergy. Is this the time, when we are so vigilant against possible occurrences of clerонationalism or clerofascism, for us to introduce new forms of clerosocialism or clerocommunism? Wouldn't this mean affirming the position of the clergy as an intermediary in politics and at the political level?" (GLAS KONCILA, No 3, 1982)

Aside from the fact that we are not talking about any sort of "bodies of government" (as injected by the Catholic organ just mentioned) and regardless of its possible intention, it must be admitted that in some respects it is to the point.

That is, if religious officers are elected to the Socialist Alliance out of a tendency to have them represent there the interests either of the church (in the strict sense) or of the body of believers generally, then this actually would amount to a certain installation of "intermediation by the clergy." And that kind of intermediation by the clergy would actually smack of clericalism, even in such a "benign" form as "Red clericalism" or "Red neo-Constantinism."

That is, by definition clericalism is not only an attempt to insist on domination of the church and the clergy in a country's political and cultural life, nor just an attempt to assign the clergy a special role in all domains of life, but also the intention for them in some way to take the place of social intermediaries where religious interests are concerned.

Elect the Citizen, Not the Cassock

This kind of mediation by the clergy is, of course, neither on the line of our policy, nor could it be fitted into the system of self-management socialism, which specifically insists on abolishing all form of mediation in society. Which means that religious people themselves should be those who directly, in line with the other interests in self-management, realize their own special religious rights and interests.

By no means, of course, does this signify that priests should remain in sacristies so that no one might say that any kind of "clerosocialism" or "clerocommunism" is being established here. Nor should they remain there out of a fear that someone will accuse them of betraying their mission since they have allegedly stepped over into politics (and voices to that effect are coming from the church) and have thereby "confused their jurisdictions."

That is, the mere fact that someone is a priest is not incompatible with the fact that he is also a citizen of the country in question. (The cassock has not swalloved the man though it cover him to the ankle.) And one of the fundamental human rights is that of making decisions on all public affairs, since they concern him in every way. And a priest, as a citizen, not only possesses that right, but it is indeed his duty.

Incidentally, was it an accident that the Second Vatican Council, which resolutely condemned any form of clericalism or neoclericalism, made this distinction: "It is very important, especially in a pluralistic society, to have a correct notion of relations between the political community and the church and to make a clear distinction between what religious people--either as individuals or in association--do in their own name as citizens, guided by their Christian conscience, from what they do in the name of the church along with their spiritual shepherds" ("Gaudium et spes," Point 76)?

There Is No "Quota" for Electing Theists

Priests, then should be elected to the bodies of the Socialist Alliance, but not with the intention of their representing religious interests there (as some kind of delegates) as spiritual shepherds or as representatives of the church. They should above all be elected because they are full-fledged citizens of this country and because it is their right and duty as it is of all other citizens, to decide on the fundamental issues of our social life.

We emphasize this because in certain quarters (though perhaps with the best intentions) there really have emerged "clerosocialist" tendencies, which usually come down to including a "priest" on the list of candidates so that the religious people would also have their "delegate" in the "political structures."

And in other places it is felt that clergymen should be elected because they are believers. The logic is probably this: It should be fully evident that religious people are not by any means second-class citizens (as some maliciously assert), and the election should also make their contribution to that. If a priest (whose piety is indicated even by his external appearance, which is certainly not the case with the usual believer) is elected to some more or less important body, then this will be visible "proof" that religious belief is not any sort of socially "verified" diferentia specifica.

But that very fact that the priest is elected exclusively because he is religious signifies in a way (in reverse) establishment of a socially and politically unacceptable division of citizens into theists and atheists, whereby there would be a "quota" for electing theists as some sort of separate social group of people.

So, when it comes to electing priests, then care must really be taken that they not be elected merely because they are religious, but solely because they deserve this by their behavior and their civic activity as citizens. If there is no such priest in some community, then it is better not to elect one (according to the criterion of religious allegiance), since this invalidates basic social principles and commitments.

Line of Demarcation

There is no reason in this connection to fear that a point will be lost (possibly) for "equality" between theists and atheists, since it certainly does not depend on whether a priest is (or is not) elected in some place.

But much more important is that an atmosphere and conditions be created in which citizens truly are able to elect the best people, and in that atmosphere religious commitment certainly ought not to be the line of demarcation (in either the positive or the negative sense).

That is, if it is true, for example, that there are about 380,000 members of the League of Communists in Croatia (of whom it can be said with some likelihood that they are not religious) and that there are about 1.5 million people in the most diverse bodies, SIZ's [self-managing community of interest] and delegations, then it is probably true that many of these people are religious. And that in turn means that we do not need any sort of other "proof" of the representation of religious people in various social structures, since in the final analysis they lead to the counting of heads, which certainly cannot be consistent with our policy.

If, then, some proof is sought, then it should be recognized that the proof lies in the nature of our sociopolitical system, which specifically demands that the working people and citizens participate in large numbers in the government of society. When all is said and done, that is in fact the meaning of the word "self-management."

So consideration should be given above all to nominating the best people to particular positions, and the criterion here, which we should also mention, may not be whether or not someone happens to be a member of the Socialist Alliance.

After all, if the Socialist Alliance is the organizer of elections, it has not thereby obtained a right to exclusiveness. The line of demarcation in this case, then, may not be any sort of membership or allegiance except that which is measured by the attitude toward the fundamental achievements of this sociopolitical community.

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CHAUVINIST INCIDENTS IN KOSOVO DETAILED

Eviction of Pristina Invalid

Belgrade ILUSTROVANA POLITIKA in Serbo-Croatian No 1205, 8 Dec, pp 22-23

[Article by Slobodan Reljic]

[Text] Bosanski Samac, December--Murat Barlov is a pensioner and an invalid. He resides in Bosanski Samac, in a tumbledown house at the edge of town, near the Prucki bridge. Everything in the house is dilapidated. This is Murat's residence by necessity.

According to all important documents, Murat Barlov lives in Pristina, in his own two-room apartment at No 9 Lenin St.

But papers do not always reflect the true situation. That is the case when the word written on a socially valid paper is not respected, when someone creates such conditions that the word of law is invalid, when someone's completely private will is more powerful than fully valid court decisions. Murat Barlov cannot live in his own apartment.

He Got an Apartment

[Barlov] My story is sad, very sad. Sorrowful, brothers. God only knows if this will ever be returned to me. I am ruined, brother. People say to me: "You are good, Murat, and what has happened to you will be remembered. Under socialism, in freedom, for someone to drive you out of your house. We could ever expect that." By God, people are right, I will be remembered.

Murat has lived in Kosovo for 17 years. His daughters had married in Kosovo, so he came here too. Before that he had worked in the Sutjeska brick factory, in Foca. He worked at the telephone switchboard. He could do nothing else, for both his legs were crippled. He received his pension 17 years ago.

Murat did not stay in Foca, for he had nothing to stay there for. He says, "I have been a proletarian since childhood." But his daughters lived in Kosovo, they were family and would help him.

Murat lived with his wife Mejra, his son Dzemat and a son born later, Idriz. They were subletters with the address of Nis Signal (no number), 38210 Kosovo Polje. And they were waiting for an apartment.

In the middle of 1979 at the election conference for pensioners at Kosovo Polje, for which Murat still keeps the invitation, it was decided to provide him with an apartment from the "Solidarity Fund." The apartment was located in the Pristina suburb of Dardanija. Murat was second on the list. But....

[Barlov] My children said to me, "Father, everyone is moving in. Why don't you?' I went to Veselin Imer, at the Pristina social services office. I asked, "What is happening?" He responded, "We gave your apartment to someone else!" "How can that be?" "What can I do for you? If you don't like it, complain to the court." And I complained. The case has never been resolved, it is at the Pristina Opstina Court, top floor, Room 203.

Nevertheless, Murat Barlov was given another apartment, by the following decree: The Secretariat for Urbanism, Communcal and Housing Affairs of the Pristina Opstina Assembly approves the following decision: Point 1. A two-room apartment with conveniences is given for the use [of Murat Barlow]. It is located at No 9 Lenin St. in the basement. Previous resident was Milica Stojsavljevic. The apartment is provided from the "Solidarity Fund" of Pristina. The decision is entered as No 119/79-2/1, and dated 4 January 1980.

And Murat moved in.

"This is not Your Place"

[Barlov] And we lived there until July of this year. I even had a student as a subletter. At the end of July we went for a short vacation to Foca and returned in August. When we arrived in front of the apartment, I saw that something was unusual, something strange, brothers. The key didn't work. The light was on, but our subletter wasn't there. But there were three brothers sitting there in the middle of my apartment, drinking tea. And they had placed three pistols in front of them. When I saw that, the house began to spin around me .

"What are you people doing in my apartment?" "This is our apartment," they said. "How can it be yours, people?" "The opstina gave it to us." And immediately they brought in that Redzep from the opstina, the one who had gave away my apartment.

He was apparently some relative of theirs. That Redzep said, "Please, leave, go." "How can I, this is my apartment." "How can that be so, Murat, how can this be your apartment when Albanian people are living here. So get out of here, get lost as quick as you can. This isn't your place now." I said, "Could I like down a while in this little room where my things are? I can't stand on these canes any longer, people." He said, "Nowhere, Get our immediately!" My wife said something, and replied, "March out of here, you whore! March out!" And then he pulled out a pistol and pushed it at her throat. I have two children, so I said "Let's go," so that nothing would happen to them. And by God's justice, they had taken my apartment away.

I went to the Secretariat of Internal Affairs, on 31 August, at 9 in the evening. The man on duty said, "I can't help you in any way, man. Got to Kosovo Polje where you used to reside and sleep." We went right to the train. And I have brought my family to Bosnia.

No sort of complaints helped Murat.

In The Name of the People, Immediately!

[Barlov continues] The first time I entered the court, I asked them to expedite this for me, because of my situation. In fairness I will say that the Albanian woman there immediately expedited the case.

After considering the incident, the court announced the following decision:

"In the Name of the People"

"The Opstina Court in Pristina, as the court of first instance, with Judge Virjina Dumica sitting in the legal matter of the plaintiff, Murat Barlov of Pristina, on 29 September 1981, in the presence of all parties, reaches the following decision:

"The plaintiff's complaint, by Murat Barlov, of Pristina, is upheld. It has been confirmed that the defendent, the Opstina of Pristina, has prevented the plaintiff in actual fact from possessing his apartment, which is located in Pristina, at No 9 Lenin St. To wit, workers of the accused opstina forcibly entered the apartment on 11 August 1981 and permitted another person to take up resident in it. The accused opstina is instructed to restore the former occupant to his residence, to remove those who have been illegally given the apartment and their effects, and to refrain from this or other personal hindrance to the possession of the apartment by Murat Barlov. All of this is to be implemented immediately, along with the obligation to compensate the plaintiff for court costs in the amount of 1,650,000 dinars, under threat of forced execution of these provisions by the court."

The decision was entered as No 815/81.

Nevertheless, the "former status of residency" has not been restored. "Immediately" can be an eternity, when that concept is interpreted by people from Pristina Opstina.

For that reason, on 6 October 1981 the Opstina Court in Pristina sent down the following: "Considering the housing and family situation of the plaintiff, the order for execution below is issued. Implementation is ordered of the decision of the Opstina Court in Pristina, numbered 81581, of 29 September 1981." This paper was recorded at the Opstina Court as No 3774/81--if that is of any importance. The court tax was duly paid.

That did not prove to be effective enough either. Murat Barlov got no benefit from the court's judgment, the official seals, the register numbers, the suggestions, decisions or orders for implementation on paper.

Nothing Has Helped

Tomo Nijemcevic of Bosanski Samac brought his newly arrived neighbor some wood. Mejra, Murat's wife, offered coffee.

[Barlov] If it were not for these people, I would be totally lost. My pension is 320,000 dinars. For this apartment, I pay 250,000. I would die on the street if it were not for these people. Here, my neighbor Tomo has given me a stove. I have nothing. I could not bring even a needle from my apartment. My things are rotting

there. That man has made himself comfortable in my apartment. And you can see how I am living. I borrow money from a man when I have to go to Pristina. I don't have it. I am in debt. I don't know how this will come out. Neighbor, I don't know when I will be able to pay you for this wood.

Tomo waved his hand. "Well, don't worry, neighbor Murat, when you get your rightful due. As they say, may God help you to get that soon. I'll scrape up some money for you. While we have some, we'll spend it."

And Murat Barlov is pursuing his rights. On his crutches, pressed by his worries and the unheard of opstina unconcern.

[Barlov] I just cannot understand how someone can break into my apartment that way. That Redzep is simply an official in the opstina office, you see. That means, if you are an opstinal official, you can break into any apartment you like, and then you can give it to whomever you want. Well, folks, that Dzafer Vecira, the assistant opstina legal defender, represented the opstina at court and declared: 'Brother, I have nothing to say against Murat. It is true that I am defending the opstina, because my bread comes from it, but they are not right. As it is, I have not found enough to say on their behalf to press under my little finger."

As they say, Murat "knocked on all the doors" around Pristina, and also on many in Belgrade. Everyone said "We'll see."

[Barlov] In Pristina, I went to the committee, and nothing happened. I went to the Provincial Assembly, to that fellow Kostic. He intervened there for me, and told them "Don't do things like that, return [his home] to the man." But that didn't help at all. I went to the Republic Secretariat of Internal Affairs in Belgrade, right to that Mirosavljevic. They ordered some fellow named Jusuf to protect me. Nothing came of that.

Murat Barlov wrote his woes on paper and sent them to the Yugoslav Assembly. He quickly received a telegram: "We hereby inform you that we have sent your petition to the Yugoslav Assembly to the Assembly of the Autonomous Province of Kosovo, to its Commission for Petitions and Complaints, in Pristina, under the number and date above."

After some 15 days, a new letter of hope came for Murat Barlov. The number above was now the second. "Regarding the petition that you sent to the Yugoslav Assembly, we hereby inform you that this commission received it. The secretary of the commission discussed the subject with the president of theopstina and district courts in Pristina, in order to expedite its resolution."

Those were the words on the formal, official paper, with the memorandum in the upper left-hand corner, and the raised seal in the lower right. But Murat Barlov went to see Bajram Atifi, secretary of the Commission of the Kosovo Assembly, to find out the situation.

[Barlov] Bajram told me, "I can't do anything for you on this, Murat. Let's say I call them on this telephone, the people at the opstina will say, 'Fine, we will take it into consideration.' And again they will let the matter lie. Who knows till when." Who knows whether I will ever get my apartment back? Who knows?

Shooting in Pec

Belgrade ILUSTROVANA POLITIKA in Serbo-Croatian No 1207, 22 Dec 81 pp 22-23

[Article by Milos Misovic]

[Text] One cannot see much in Kosovo in 3 days, but on the very first day you can sense that there are two parallel currents in the province's life. On the one side are progressive forces and the greater part of the sociopolitical organizations which are striving to eliminate the consequences of false policies and return life to normal. On the other side, the forces of Albanian nationalism and irredentism by various actions and nearly daily sallies openly demonstrate not only their existence, but also their clear intention to retard, or if possible even halt, the process of consolidation that has begun.

In that situation, where nearly every action is answered by a counteraction, a quite widely held conviction is that things cannot be different when the struggle for ideological differentiation and political stabilization is being conducted more with words than with deeds. Yet the worst thing is that, in this atmosphere, a large segment of the Serbian and Montenegrin population has lost confidence in the objectivity of certain institutions, and in their readiness to resist the Albanian nationalism that has been tolerated internally for years and richly nurtured from abroad.

There are sufficient reasons for that, perhaps even too many. Some examples from the distant and recent past show vividly how this abyss of distrust, which for now is unbridgeable, came to develop.

The events that happened to Zika Stanjevic, a "first fighter" veteran from Pec, illustrate in their way the present situation and relationships in Kosovo. This well-known Kosovo warrior, who was secretary of the District Committee of the Yugoslav League of Communist Youth in Pec, lives in Belgrade now, but as a pensioner he frequently goes to his old home region to spend the summer months with his wartime friends and comrades, who include Serbs, Montenegrins and Albanians.

Recently, POLITIKA published a touching story about how one of Zika Stanjevic's wartime friends, an Albanian, had told Zika his last wish. Saljko Meterizi, a "first fighter" from Pec, had been confined to his bed in recent years because of serious illness.

When Stanjevic came to visit his sick friend, Meterizi confided to him what he expected to die soon, and he asked Zika to try to have the news of his death published not only in the RILINDJA (Albanian) and JEDINSTVO (Montenegrin) newspapers, but also in POLITIKA. This old, fearless warrior wanted his friends and comrades from other parts of the country to be informed as well, for they had fought together during the war and had forged the brotherhood and unity of our peoples and nationalities.

Saljko Meterizi died on July 14, and his friends and comrades saw him off as he deserved. Several days after his death, POLITIKA published a warm story about this deserving Albanian, in which it also mentioned Saljko's last wish. A little later, Zika Stanjevic experienced the last thing he might have expected, in his miniature weekend cabin.

Midnight Shots

Just as he was preparing to set out for Belgrade after a 2-month stay in Pec, during the night of 5-6 September, at precisely 2 am, someone shot at the window of his cabin from the street. The cabin is at No 17 Boris Kidric St. As Zika Stanjevic recalls, "Everything happened in a moment. My wife and I had been packing for the trip for a long time. We planned to leave at 6 am, which is better for driving. It was after midnight when we went to bed. Just after we had gone to sleep, the shots rang out loudly from the street. We were surprised and frightened, of course. We could not believe that anyone had a reason to attack us. By chance we had not slept in the room where the shots came that night. Nevertheless, we did not feel very comfortable.

"My wife kept me from going out of the house right away. After that, I saw myself that it would be better to stay inside, because someone who had decided to do something like this would probably not hesitate to do something even more. We listened for several minutes, but we heard nothing else from the street. Silence again reigned in that part of town. I turned on the light and looked at my watch. It was 2:15 am. We went back to bed, but there was no more sleep for us that night."

Zika Stanjevic and his wife Marija, who was also a fighter in the war, thought about many things in those sleepless hours after midnight. They asked themselves why precisely their house had been chosen to be the target of the attackers. Once more, they went over their entire wartime and postwar lives to check to see if they had made some enemy.

[Stanjevic] The only logical conclusion was that some Pec counterrevolutionaires had taken aim at us for some reasons of their own. Probably that way they wanted to announce and make us aware that we were no longer welcome in that place.

From Malesija to Drvar

Zika Stanjevic was born and grew up in Pec in an old Serbian family. He became a member of the Yugoslav Communist Youth League in 1941, and a member of the Yugoslav Communist Party a year later. He rapidly became a member of the district party committee in Pec, and the secretary of the district communist youth league committee. The war feats of this young revolutionary live on in the memories of many of his fellow fighters from Pec and the surrounding area.

In 1943, Zika Stanjevic was sent by the party to Malesija in Albania, where under an Albanian name he joined the Bajram Curi detachment. There he quickly became the commander of a company.

At the beginning of January 1944, the Yugoslav Communist Party leadership for Kosovo and Metohija, then located in Malesija, chose Zika Stanjevic and four other youth organization fighters, three Albanians and one Montenegrin, to go as the delegates of Kosovo and Metohija to the Second Congress of the United Federation of Anti-Fascist Youth of Yugoslavia, to be held in Drvar on 2 May. He was told that two fighters from Albania, who were to be guests of the congress, would be traveling with them.

The group set out immediately for Andrijevica, where it joined the delegates from Montenegro, Boka and the Sandzhak. There they formed a Youth Battalion, which with the Third Sandzhak Brigade set out on a long and difficult journey. After several unsuccessful attempts, the Youth Battalion returned to Andrijevica, then later

set off for Drvar taking a different route. Due to illness and exhaustion, all the members of the Kosovo-Metohija delegation remainedin Andrijevica, except for Stanjevic. Two of the delegates from Albania stayed with them.

Bravely enduring great efforts and many skirmishes, the youth expedition made its way via Niksic, Konjice and Kupres, and broke through to Drvar on 1 May, on the very eve of the congress.

Greeting the congress in the name of the Albanian, Serbian, Montenegrin and Kosovo batallions, Zika Stanjevic said that the youth, conscious of the goals of the national liberation war, was giving everything of themselves, even their very lives.

When the congress ended, Stanjevic stayed in Drvar for a time, and found himself in the fire of the famous German attack. He fought with the Escort Battalion, with which after Tito's departure from Pecina he retreated in the direction of Kupres.

Somewhat later, via Bari, he returned with a new radio transmitter, the congress materials, and the Russian automatic weapon with which he had defended Tito in Drvar. After his arrival he gave it to his comrade, Fadilj Hodza, the commandant of the Operations Headquarters for Kosovo and Metohija, as the first automatic weapon to arrive from the south. After returning from Drvar, Stanjevic was assigned to the first Macedonian-Kosovo brigade, in which he became the commissar of the First Battalion.

Before final liberation, Zika Stanjevic, that child of the revolution, began yet another long journey: He was sent for schooling to the Lenin Marxist Academy in Moscow. He returned from there at the end of 1947, and became an instructor in the 50th Division of the Yugoslav National Army.

After retiring, Zika Stanjevic moved to Belgrade. Some Albanians from Pec asked him several times if he would want to sell them his old family house and land; the house in any case was on the verge of collapse. Stanjevic explained, "I rejected all those offers, because I believed that that which remained from my ancestors should not be given to straugers, even if I did not have breat to eat."

Some time later, on the foundation of the old "poorman's house," Zika Stanjevic built a modest weekend cabin, with a total of 26 square meters, where he and his wife frequently spent the summer by the banks of the Bistrica River. They say that they also come there during the year, for they have quite a few comrades, friends and relatives in Pec.

That is how it has been up until now. But what will happen in the future? Will the quiet Stanjevic family continue to spend the summer quietly in their cabin, or will they, like many others, decide to let that intimate corner go to one of the prospective purchasers, for a certain compensation?

For the moment, the Stanjevices are not thinking of selling. They say that they are not frightened, but they are obviously disillusioned, more by what followed the shots than by the shots themselves.

On the morning after those shots at midnight, Zika Stanjevic set out early for the Secretariat for Internal Affairs in Pec, and reported what had happened the night before. He spoke with the secretary for internal affairs, Janko Jankovic, who promised

that he would send experts to inspect the site and take pictures of the situation. And the experts did come, and they performed their part of the task. Inside, in the room, they found the slugs from the two shots that penetrated the window and stopped in the opposite wall. On the street they found two pistol cartridges, which permitted them to establish the spot from which the shots were fired. They asked Zita Stanjevic and his wife if they suspected anyone.

Stanjevic answered them: "We have not quarreled with anyone, nor does anyone bear us a grudge. No one had any personal reason to shoot at us. If anyone should be suspected, it would have to be counterrevolutionaries and venomous nationalists. They have their own reasons."

Stanjevic was promised that the investigation would continue, and that he would be informed of the results. He stayed another 12 days in Pec, but since there was no report, he left for Belgrade.

Why Is There Silence?

When after 3 months nothing was reported about the incident, the writer of this article visited the Pec Secretariat for Internal Affairs, on 9 December, and asked what had been done regarding the attack on Zika Stanjevic's cabin. The chief for public security, Abdurahman (Avdus) Mile, was surprised by the question. He explained that an investigation had been initiated and that the case was being pursued, but the guilty parties had not been found.

The concern that 3 months had passed since the attack and that it would be increasingly difficult to find the culprit was acknowledged, but with the explanation that in complicated cases, the investigation cannot be completed overnight.

Chief Avdus and the inspector who is conducting the investigation explained that their work is hampered by the fact that Zika Stanjevic is in Belgrade. They would like to question him first, and to use his statement as the point of departure for their investigation. I reminded them that Stanjevic had given such a statement when the Secretariat's inspectors had come for the initial investigation, and that he had answered the question as to whom he suspected by saying that he had no reason to suspect anyone except the counterrevolution. I told them that Zika Stanjevic remained in Pec for 12 more days after the attack and that first investigation. Thus if further information was needed from him, it would not have been hard to get it. Besides that, could they not call Zika Stanjevic to come, if his presence was essential?

Chief Avdus justified all that by saying that it was awkward for him to bother the man. He was, however, more interested in knowing how the newspaper had learned of the incident.

I explained that we had received a letter in connection with this and certain other attacks. Since the author was anonymous, we had turned to Zika Stanjevic, who had confirmed the accuracy of the data in the letter about the attack on his cabin.

The chief and the inspector expressed the desire to see that letter, in order to determine who the author was by the handwriting. They thought that that could help them in the investigation. We are unable to fulfill their wish, for it is not the newspaper's practice to deliver such letters to agencies of internal affairs.

Starting from the position stated in the recently adopted POLITIKA platform about Kosovo that "verbal battle against nationalism can accomplish little," and that "Nationalism is easily recognized, but frequently ignored," I wanted to discuss the attack on Zika Stanjevic's cabin with the province secretary for internal affairs, Comrade Mehmed Malici.

It would be normal to expect that the most responsible man for such matters in the province would be able to tell why nothing had been said publicly about such an attack by nationalists, even though all Pec knew about what happened on the night of September 5-6 within a few hours. Nearly all the Serbs and Montenegrins in Pec came to visit Stanjevic on that day, to find out how this had happened.

Many said, "When they have assaulted you, what remains for us?"

A number of Albanians also visited the Stanjevices, and expressed their unhappiness with the nationalist attack on the Stanjevic house.

It could reasonably be expected that the province secretary for internal affairs would give a believable explanation as to why the investigation of this delicate but clear incident has been marking time for more than 3 months. This is even more true since that same official had delcared, in a television conversation after the attack on the Stanjevic house, that there was still shooting in Kosovo, but only at weddings.

The expectations were not, however, fulfilled. I was informed by the office of the secretary of internal affairs for Kosovo Province that Comrade Malici was busy and that he would not be able to receive me during that day (Friday, 11 December).

We believe that Comrade Malici was busy, for he and other people in that office have their hands full these days. But that cannot in any way explain the stalling of the investigation in this case.

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March 12, 1982